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# HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.







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# HISTORY OF ROME

AND

## THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE,

BY

VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ETC.

EDITED BY THE REV. J. P. MAHAFFY,

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

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THIS volume contains the history of a few years only, those which elapsed between the consulship of Cæsar and the Battle of Actium. But in this short period the greatest revolution of antiquity was accomplished—the Fall of the Roman Republic and the Establishment of the Empire.

I first wrote this history forty years ago. Time, study, experience in public affairs—*usus rerum*, have not led me to alter the general lines of my first narrative. I still think, as I thought then, that the liberty of Rome had nothing in common with ours, and that the republicans of the Tiber's banks were but a narrow oligarchy, who, when they had conquered the world, knew not how to govern it. Guy Patin once said to a First President that, if he himself had been in the senate on the ides of March, he would have dealt the dictator the twenty-fourth dagger-thrust. It was a literary opinion which it was good taste to profess, in memory of Cicero glorifying the murder of Cæsar, at a time when the Opposition in Parliament imagined themselves Catos. "The conquering cause which pleased the gods" is still repugnant to a few men of letters in France, but, in free England, as well as in Cæsarian Germany, historical criticism now decides in favour of the gods.

Like many others, I could have wished that the great Republic, which for centuries had displayed so much wisdom, had endured. Was this possible? The answer will be found in this book if the reader will therein carefully study, in a perfectly impartial spirit, the transformations that historical circumstances brought about in Roman society. The reading of the work will occupy fewer hours than the writing did years, and it will lead to the conviction that, while still retaining the ideas of the present



day, we may approve of a revolution which was a step in advance for the human race. A hundred families lost by it, but eighty millions of men have profited.<sup>1</sup>

In concluding this volume I must express my gratitude to His Majesty King Humbert, who with royal liberality has deigned to place at my disposal the documents published by his Government upon the archæological researches carried on in Italy.

Nov., 1880.

<sup>1</sup> "The establishment of the empire in Rome was a distinct step in advance. . . . It was an enormous boon to ninety-nine out of every hundred of the population." (Beesly, *Tiberius*, p. 147, 1878.)

## CHAPTER LI.

### POWERLESSNESS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

#### I.—INTERNAL TROUBLES; RISE OF CÆSAR.

IN the time of Sylla the Tuscan haruspices when consulted about certain portents had replied that a new era of the world was approaching, and that the form of the universe was about to undergo a change. Prophetic powers were not needed to see that on earth a revolution was in course of preparation.

In the last sixty years two diverse attempts had been made to reconstitute the Republic, one in the popular interest, the other in that of the aristocracy. The former failed because the Gracchi counted too much upon the crowd of freedmen who had replaced the ancient Roman people; the other appeared to succeed for a time because Sulla made use of the only power left in Rome, the nobility; but this nobility, which might have ruled the world had it known how to rule itself, showed itself incapable of preserving the empire, and Pompey, to repay the plaudits of the populace, deprived it of a portion of what Sylla had given.<sup>1</sup> It was at best but an unintelligent restoration of the past, a return to the times of Sulpicius and Saturninus, without any further guarantee against the spirit of faction; it was a revival of war in the Forum, where it soon broke out again. The consulship of Piso in the year 67 B.C. may be reckoned among the worst times of the Republic.

One of Pompey's former quaestors, C. Cornelius, was then tribune. He was anxious to repress the usurious loans by which the nobles ruined the provinces, and to prevent certain bribed senators from dispensing, in the name of their partners, with the observation of some law. Piso contested his *rogatio*, and when the

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p.  
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people murmured he ordered several arrests; but the crowd rushed upon the lictors, broke their fasces, and drove the consul from the Forum with a shower of stones. Like his patron, Cornelius was no demagogue. He dismissed the assembly and modified his proposal in this way: a *senatus-consultum* dispensing with an existing law must be passed by a senate of at least 200 members.<sup>1</sup> He also attempted to extend the crime of canvassing (bribery) to those who had aided the incriminated candidate, and he proposed severe penalties against them. Piso, whose violence had not succeeded, now employed cunning; he himself took charge of this law in order not to leave the honour of it to the tribune, and under pretext that in the face of excessive penalties there would be found neither accusers nor judges, he demanded for the guilty only expulsion from the senate, suspension from office, and a fine. Again a disturbance compelled him to fly from the Forum; he called together his friends, came back by force, and the law was passed.<sup>2</sup> Scarcely had Cornelius quitted office when the two Cominii accused him of the crime of *majestas* for having paid no heed to the veto of his colleagues; but Manilius, another of Pompey's agents, at the head of an armed band threatened them with death. They fled under the protection of the consuls to a house whence they escaped at night over the roofs (66).

Thus the armed conflicts began again: but a short while ago Licinius Macer accused the senate of despotism,<sup>3</sup> now the consuls reproach the tribunes with their violence; thus nobility and populace were equally convicted of impotence to rule, and there remained but one solution—monarchy.<sup>4</sup> Three men were then aiming at it; Pompey, after the manner of Pericles, by legal means; Catiline, like Dionysius and Agathocles, by conspiracies and the soldiery; Cæsar, after the manner of Alexander, by

<sup>1</sup> A more important law by the same tribune obliged the magistrates, upon their entry into office, to publish the rules by which they would judge, and forbade them ever to set aside their edict, as they had hitherto done, by a new edict, *edictum repentinum*. (Dion., xxxvi. 38-39; Cic., *pro Murena*, 23; Dion., xxxvi. 21; and Ascon. in Cic., *pro C. Cornelio*, fragm. i. 19, 34.)

<sup>2</sup> The affair was taken up again in 65. Cicero, who was anxious to please Pompey and render himself popular, defended the accused. This oration, which Quintilian (viii. 3) calls a masterpiece, is lost, except a few fragments.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. ii. p. 783.

<sup>4</sup> Cicero says that at the commencement of his consulship: *novæ dominationis, extraordinaria non imperia, sed regna, queri putabantur*. (*de Lege agraria*, ii. 3.)



the ascendancy of his genius. Among these three men another took his place who was superior to his times, who believed in virtue and in the power of reason, and who would not yield to the thought that liberty must perish. Cicero, like Drusus, sought the safety of the Republic, not in the exclusive predominance of one class of citizens, but in the reconciliation of all; with one there would be despotism, with two war, with three harmony and peace. He had already done his part in transferring the judicial powers to the *equites*, and he worked hard to win public opinion to their side by extolling their impartiality and services in all his speeches. He would have liked to attach Pompey to their cause, and as he had gained an insight into the nature of his ambition he had spared no pains to advance it.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, as a *novus homo* Cicero needed Pompey's support to make his way: thus his personal ambition was in agreement with what he believed to be the public interest.

There was another person who flattered Pompey, and who beneath the shadow of this mighty name was making himself a position in the State. We know Julius Cæsar. His influence at Rome was already considerable, and he owed it neither to the offices he had held, for he was only pontiff, nor to his exploits, for he had never held a command, nor to his eloquence, though it was proved by early successes. The people placed their hope in this son-in-law of Cinna, this nephew of Marius, sprung from the noblest of the patrician houses, and they felt the charm that breathed from the person of the descendant of Venus and Anchises.<sup>3</sup> His mind and manners had an attractiveness that one other ruler has also possessed; but in Cæsar it was allied with a natural elegance that Napoleon was



Coin of Young Julius Cæsar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quintus tells his brother (*de Petit. cons.*, 19, 51) that he acquired his popularity by defending Pompey's friends, Manilius and Cornelius.

<sup>2</sup> M. SANQVINIVS MIVIR. Bare head of Julius Cæsar, represented as young and deified; above, a star. Silver coin struck by Sanquinius, monetary triumvir of Augustus.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *ad Fam.*, viii. 15; "He bore on his ring the figure of an armed Venus, a double emblem of the weakness and glory of this great man." (Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire*.) The *Museo Borbonico* at Naples possesses a colossal bust of Cæsar which is considered authentic. His features have also been preserved to us by other busts, statues, coins, and gems. Unfortunately all these portraits are not alike. Cicero says of him; *Forma magnifica et generosa quodam modo.* (*Brut.*, 75.)

never able to acquire. The reason of himself, was the representative of a young and uncouth



Venus and Anchises.<sup>2</sup>

democracy, the other was the inheritor of a time-honoured nobility, a great noble who had strayed among the people.<sup>1</sup>

It must indeed be owned that the future master of the world was at first only the king of fashion, though he had at the age of twenty-two shown the courage to gain a civic crown; the greatest dandies

despaired of rivalling the folds of his toga,<sup>3</sup> and women could never resist him. Magnificent and prodigal, as if he counted upon the wealth of the world, he lavished gold less for his



Coin of Cicero.<sup>4</sup>

pleasures than for his friends, and for the populace, whom he entertained at splendid feasts. Cicero, who was too great a student to be a good judge of men, Cicero, who put faith in Catiline's repentance, as he did later in the unselfishness of Octavius, was deceived by this apparent frivolity.

"When I see him with his hair so nicely curled, afraid of disarranging it with the tip of his finger, I feel reassured; such a man can never dream of overturning the State." He would have been less confident had he called to

<sup>1</sup> In the formation of great men Nature does three-quarters of the work, and education the rest. It is worthy of remark that Cæsar's master in philosophy and eloquence was Gniphos the Gaul. (Suet., *de Gramm.*, 7.)

<sup>2</sup> Fragment of a bronze mirror-case found in Epirus, representing the goddess near the sleeping Anchises, accompanied by Eros (Love) and Himeros, the personification of desire. (Millingen, *Anc. uned. monuments*, i. 2, pl. 12; Cf. L. de Ronchaud in *Dict. des Antiq.*, Saglio, p. 226.)

<sup>3</sup> Suet., *Cæsar*, 43; *Usus enim lato clavo ad manus fimbriato, nec ut unquam aliter quam super eum cingeretur.*

<sup>4</sup> Head of Cicero on a bronze coin struck at Magnesia in Lydia, with this inscription: ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΤΥΛΛΙΟΣ ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ (Marcus Tullius Cicero). It may be that this coin has preserved to us the authentic portrait of the great orator. (Mionnet, *Descript.*, vol. iv., *Lydia*, No. 385, p. 71.)

mind that journey into Asia (76 B.C.), during which Cæsar, having fallen into the hands of pirates, astonished and mastered the robbers by his proud bearing, compelling them to listen to him and to serve him, and threatened them, captive as he was, with the cross. They had demanded twenty talents as his ransom: "It is not enough," said he, "you shall have fifty, but afterwards I will have you all hanged;" and he had kept his word; when his ransom arrived from Miletus he collected a few vessels, pursued and captured them, and crucified them in spite of the governor of the province. On his return to Rome he accused the Syllan Dolabella of the extortion which he had practised in his government of Macedonia, and then Antonius Hybrida, one of the dictator's lieutenants, who had pillaged several Greek towns. Those celebrated suits were a means for a young man to attain notoriety; but by his choice of defendants Cæsar affirmed his popular opinions. Some time afterwards, while studying at Rhodes, he learned that Mithridates was attacking the allies of the Republic. He immediately crossed to the mainland, assembled some troops, defeated several detachments of the Pontic army, and retained the towns in alliance with Rome; and all this he had effected without any command being conferred upon him or any mission entrusted to him. Sylla, whom he had withstood in refusing to repudiate the daughter of Cinna,<sup>1</sup> had understood him better. "Beware," said he to the nobles, "beware of this loose boy."<sup>2</sup> The foppish rake did indeed nourish a high ambition, for he felt his genius and saw the ills from which the Republic suffered, the powerlessness of the remedy proposed by Sylla, and the absolute incapacity of his heirs. His friends asserted that they had seen him weep before a statue of Alexander, saying, again and again, "At my age he had conquered the world, and as yet I have done nothing."

He had done more than he confessed.<sup>3</sup> Already the senate

<sup>1</sup> According to Plutarch, *Cæsar*, 1., Sylla confiscated Cornelia's dowry. Pompey and Piso had been less rebellious against the dictator's wishes.

<sup>2</sup> Suet., *Cæsar*, 45; *Ut male præcinctum puerum caverent*. I feel no greater assurance of the authenticity of this remark of Sylla's than of the one related in vol. ii. p. 690. These remarks were fabricated after Cæsar's success.

<sup>3</sup> The chronology of Cæsar's history up to his consulship is as follows; born July 12th of the year 100 or 102 B.C. (see vol. ii. p. 734, note 1); appointed *flamen dialis* through the influence of Marius, 87; marries Cornelia, daughter of Cinna, 83; serves under Minucius Thermus at the



watched uneasily the nephew of Marius and of that Aurelius Cotta who had deprived them of their *judicia*, the popular orator who had brought about the recall of the friends of Lepidus, the spendthrift who outshone all the nobility in his magnificence. Crassus, the triumphant consul, saw in him a rival;<sup>1</sup> Pompey, a necessary friend; and the people loved him, that people whom he courted without cringing, whom he led by restraining their evil passions, like the spirited horses which he amused himself by taming on the Field of Mars. The nobles hoped that he would ruin himself by his mad expenditure, and so cease to be formidable by being unable to buy office any longer;<sup>2</sup> but they forgot that perhaps the people would give him what they sold to others. Moreover, the usurers with their rapacious instinct foresaw the future of the young spendthrift, and none refused him money. Before he had held any office he owed 1,300 talents!<sup>3</sup>

When Pompey returned from Spain he found Cæsar so strong that he felt obliged to make terms with him. He had thought to make a tool of him, but he became one himself; at least he fell under the spell, he listened to advice offered in the guise of eulogy, and Cæsar had a great share in the decision which separated Pompey from the nobility, his true place, and put him at the head of the people, where his character could not allow him long to remain.<sup>4</sup> It was a clever move to bring over to

siege of Mitylene, 81; wins a civic crown there, 80; serves in Cilicia under P. Sulpicius, and returns to Rome on the news of Sylla's death, 78; accuses Dolabella, 77; accuses Antonius, 76; resides at Rhodes to attend the lessons of Molon the rhetorician, 75; regains the dignity of flamen, and is chosen legionary tribune by the people, whom he had won over by distributing largesse of corn, 74; his uncle Aurelius Cotta deprives the senate of their judicial powers, and he himself brings about the recall of the accomplices of Lepidus, 70; made quæstor, and follows the prætor Antistius into Hispania Citerior, 68; marries Pompeia, granddaughter of Pompeius Rufus the *consularis*, supports the *Gabinian Law* in favour of Pompey, and is appointed director of the repairs to the *via Appia*, 67; elected to the curule-ædileship, 65; made *julæ questionis de sicariis*, 64; chosen high pontiff and prætor, 63; his prætorship, 62; governor of Hispania Ulterior, 61; returns to Rome, 60; his consulship, 59.

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar disputed a mission to Egypt with him, and he would have obtained it from the people if the nobles had not hindered the *plebiscitum* by the veto of the tribunes.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., *Cæsar*, 4; Cic., *pro Planco*, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Plut., *ibid.*, 5. His debts were perhaps less than stated. His borrowing was a means of attaching influential persons to his political fortunes. With this object he borrowed of Crassus, Pompey, and Atticus. (Cic., *ad Att.*, vi. 1; and Plut., *ibid.*) This Crassus was interested in the success of a man who owed him 850 talents. During his proconsulate and dictatorship Cæsar had his household affairs managed with care.

<sup>4</sup> See vol. ii. p. 786.

the popular party and the tribuneship a man who must inevitably offend both people and tribunes. And not less clever was it, when he had compromised him with the aristocracy, to place a still greater distance between them by contriving to have almost regal honours decreed him. Cæsar gave his staunchest support to the propositions of Gabinius and Manilius.<sup>1</sup> On this occasion he met

Cicero on the same ground, but with very different intentions ; the *novus homo* thought only of gaining a patron and votes for his own approaching candidature for the consulship. The popular patrician saw with pleasure how the people were accustoming themselves to confer great powers which he himself might yet claim. Yet there was a great boldness in accumulating so much power in Pompey's hands ; was it not working to provide himself with a master ? But Cæsar thoroughly understood his rival. From the first day he had seen the royal

airs of the popular hero he had never believed in the stay of his popularity. Pompey had nothing to recommend him but his military successes, and as for victories, Cæsar would gain



Manilius as Mercury.<sup>2</sup>

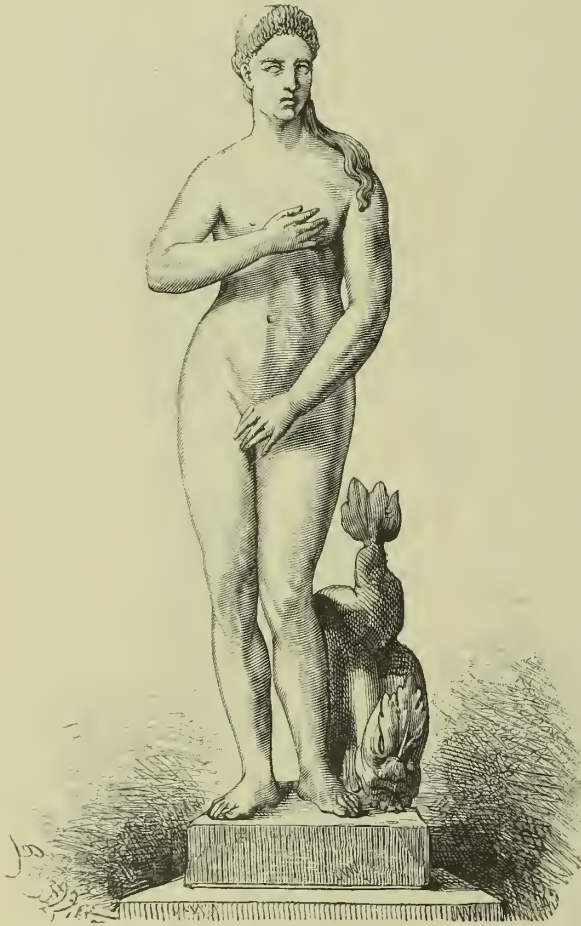
<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 798.

<sup>2</sup> This statue, as well as the one of Manilia as Venus, given on the next page, was found in the tomb of the consul Manilius on the Appian Way. They are now in the Vatican Museum.

them ; he would eclipse these successes by greater ones, and there would remain to him the advantage—a very great one in a dying republic—of knowing how to sway and lead that crowd of the Forum, whose nominal sovereignty might at any time be changed into a real one by an able man.

These patient calculations have been too much insisted upon, and their subtle depth has been exaggerated. If Pompey had been

really capable of vigorous action all this scaffolding of ambition would have been overturned. At the commencement of his political life Cæsar followed events rather than directed them ; at the utmost he did but help them to glide into the channels to which they themselves were disposed. He swayed the future in the only way in which man can sway it to suit his purpose — by foreseeing, through a clear understanding of the present, to what far-off end society is tending. The saying of Cicero, quoted by



Manilia as Venus.

Suetonius,<sup>1</sup> "From his ædileship he dreamed of empire, and he made sure of it when he was consul," is one of those pompous sentences which the great orator loved to deliver. Cæsar did not

<sup>1</sup> *Cæsar*, 9.

dream of the dictatorship from his youth upwards. His birth had placed him on the side of the popular party, the party which sought for reforms, and he remained there without ever swerving. As consul he began these necessary reforms, as dictator he continued and extended them; the empire was the result of the civil war.

But all plans for the present and future, whether Cæsar's or Pompey's, as well as those of the senate or the tribunes, were nearly upset by a conspiracy hatched in the "vilest sink of the Republic."

## II.—CATILINE (65—62 B.C.).

Sylla thought he had made peaceable husbandmen of his veterans and honest citizens of his enriched assassins. But the idle soldiery got their work done for them, or sold their lands and kept their swords only, in hopes of another civil war and fresh plunder. Still less time had been needed for their former leaders to spend the gold of the proscribed. The rich and the well-to-do classes saw with alarm a populace beneath them, no longer made up of the poor of Rome, lazy, resigned to their miseries, and asking but a few measures of wheat to live in peace, but another populace with a taste and a craving for debauch, men with dark looks and ready hands, enemies of order and society, whatever the government might be, and gaining their living in various criminal pursuits. And day by day this crowd was increasing.

For some time only individual crimes resulted from this state of things; but a man arose who aimed at using the class thus at war with society as a force to procure his own elevation. Catiline had all the qualities needful for a party chief—high birth,<sup>1</sup> a noble appearance, an iron frame fit to support all excesses, great abilities, unlimited audacity and courage, and at need the frugality of the hardest soldier. Liberal, obliging, and insinuating, he could be in turns austere, grave, or playful. Ever ready to serve his friends with money, credit, or personal aid, never sparing labour or crime for them, he exercised an irresistible influence in this

<sup>1</sup> The Sergian house was patrician, and had given its name to one of the tribes.



atmosphere of debauch.<sup>1</sup> Two centuries sooner Catiline might have been a great citizen, but the manners and social state of the new Rome opened another object of ambition, and he pursued it with all the ardour of his fiery nature. In age, Catiline belonged to the generation which had entered upon public life under the dictatorship of Sylla. The days of terror in cities, whether nature strikes with contagion or men slay with the sword, is generally accompanied and always followed by the most frightful license. It was in the midst of such a time, when men played at hazard with fortunes and lives, that Catiline, prepared by the disorders of his youth,<sup>2</sup> had finished his political education. And how he, too, played with life and fortune! We have already said that he had distinguished himself among the fiercest assassins; he had killed his brother-in-law to give free course to an incestuous amour; he slew his wife and son to induce a woman to give him her hand.<sup>3</sup> During his pro-prætorship in Africa he committed fearful extortions (67 B.C.); on his return he canvassed for the consulship, but as a deputation from the province came to lodge an accusation against him, the senate struck his name from the list of candidates. Catiline withdrew boiling with rage; he was forbidden even lawful canvassing; so he set about a revolution.

He had long been leagued with all the infamous and guilty in Rome. But it was a party he wished for, not merely accomplices; he therefore set himself to win over the poor and the dissolute youth by pandering to their passions. For any one who asked him he always had fine hounds, horses, gladiators, or courtesans; then from pleasure he led them on to crime, and at last he had them in his power. But these debauched youths did not constitute an army. Catiline had long before prepared one by his relations with the military colonists, his old companions in arms. He reminded them of Sylla and his gifts, of their lands pledged to usurers; if he attained the consulship, if he

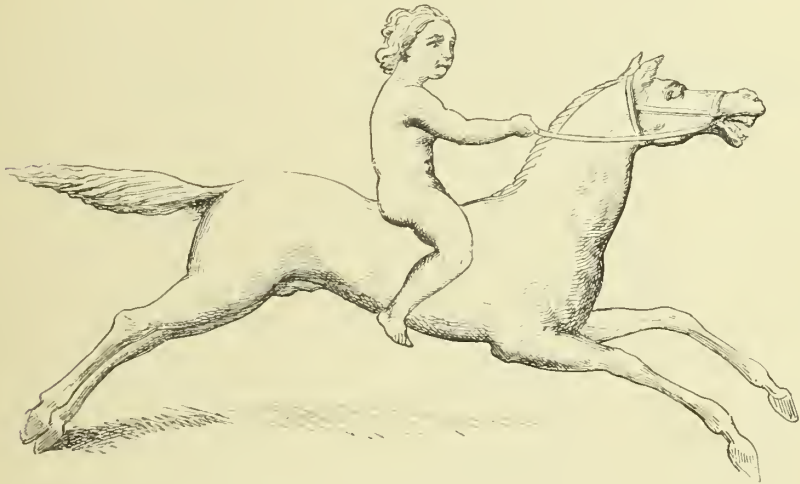
<sup>1</sup> Such at least is the portrait which Cicero draws of him in the *pro Cælio*, and in the second oration against *Catiline*; yet for a short time he was in league with him: *Me ipsum, me inquam, quondam pæne ille decepit*. Catiline had distinguished himself with Curio's army in Macedonia, and as soon as he attained the prescribed age for the prætorship, had obtained it.

<sup>2</sup> His father had been condemned for murder. (Cicero, *pro Cluentio*, 7.)

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *Cat.*, i. 6; Val. Max., ix. 1, 9; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 2. Sallust does not mention the murder of Gratidianus which Cicero attributes to him.

became master, he should know how to preserve to the victors the fruits of their courage. The abolition of debts should be the prelude to fresh indulgence. Accordingly the veterans held themselves in readiness to come and vote for him in a body. Thus Catiline already possessed great resources. The severity of the new tribunals furnished him with fresh allies.

A decision had just been pronounced against the two consuls-elect for the year 65 B.C., P. Autronius Pætus and P. Corn. Sylla, as guilty of having bought votes, and their accusers, L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, had been chosen to replace them. Catiline inflamed their resentment and a plot was formed to murder



Race Horse.

the new consuls on the kalends of January, when they would go to offer sacrifice on the Capitol. Crassus and Cæsar are said to have joined this conspiracy; the former was to have been created dictator, and in virtue of his office reinstated Autronius and Sylla in the consulship. This must be a calumny. Crassus was rich, and he had everything to lose by associating with ruined men, whose first care would have been to spoil the wealthy. As for Cæsar, his kindly disposition was averse to the intended violences of the conspirators; but certainly neither of them viewed the agitation with any great disapproval, and, without taking any part in it, they must have awaited the issue, to turn it to the furtherance of their ambition. Neither of them could give a hand to the

desperadoes, in revolt against all social order, but they had no intention of constituting themselves the upholders of the oligarchy. They therefore, held aloof allowing the nobles and Catiline to weaken each other in mortal combat.

Twice the attempt failed, once on the kalends of January and once on the nones of February, because the consuls had been forewarned. It seems that a reconciliation then took place, or rather that the trembling senate attempted to pacify these irreconcilables by concessions. Cn. Piso, one of the most formidable conspirators, was sent to Spain as prætor; it is true that his Spanish escort assassinated him. But when Clodius brought up again the accusation of extortion against Catiline, Torquatus, one of the consuls who had escaped being murdered, undertook the defence of the accused, and we are not sure that Cicero did not also take part in it. He at least made preparations for doing so, and in a letter which is extant he congratulates himself upon having secured all the judges whom he desired. "If he be acquitted," he adds, "I hope to come to an agreement with him about my candidature."<sup>1</sup> This letter may give us a great deal of matter for reflection on the subject of the great day of the nones of December, 63 B.C. But we must tell the story from the only documents that time has left us, maintaining however, a discreet reserve.<sup>2</sup>

Catiline was acquitted, but he was a ruined man.<sup>3</sup> All the gold he had brought from Africa had passed to his judges (65 B.C.). What disposed the senate to connive at such schemes was the feeling of their own weakness and the fear inspired by Cæsar. Catiline's ambition as yet appeared to be that of a single individual; at Cæsar's back the senators saw a party.<sup>4</sup> In this same year (65) he had been nominated curule-ædile, and he had not let slip the

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Att.*, i. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero afterwards, in the *de Officiis* (ii. 24), spoke of Catiline's conspiracy as only a debtor's plot against their creditors: *nunquam nec majus æs alienum fuit, nec melius, nec facilius dissolutum est*; and the letter of Mallius to Marcus Rex (Sall., *Cat.*, 33) proves that this was the real cause which would provide Catiline with an army. But if the soldier demanded only the abolition of debts, did not the chief desire something more?—*tabulas novas, proscriptiones locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas*. (Sall., *ibid.*, 21.) Our documents show us an ambitious man desirous of taking the highest place; nothing indicates the reformer.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *de Petit. cons.*, 3. He was again accused in the following year (64 B.C.) by Lucullus of public violence and acquitted. (Dion., xxxvii. 10.)

<sup>4</sup> Suet., *Cæsar*, 10; Dion., xxxviii. 8.

opportunity of making a surer canvass than that of the election day by bribing the whole populace at once with the magnificence of his games and by unheard-of prodigalities. He adorned the Forum, basilicas, and temples with pictures and statues, and in honour of his father's memory he displayed 320 pairs of gladiators wearing gilded armour. Never had the circus seen such slaughter, never had the people enjoyed such a surfeit of savage pleasure. The senate took fright at this butchery, or rather at the opportunities for a sudden surprise furnished by such an army of braves; by a decree they limited the number of gladiators at such shows. The Megalesia, or great Roman games, were celebrated with the same pomp—the poor wretches condemned to fight with wild beasts were furnished with silver lances.<sup>1</sup>

Chariot Driver.<sup>2</sup>

At the sight of these feasts and games, his colleague, Bibulus, who was then serving his apprenticeship in effacement, exclaimed with an astonished air: "We are both ruining ourselves, and it appears as if he alone paid; the people

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 16: . . . *Omni apparatu arenæ argenteo usus est.*

<sup>2</sup> Victor in the chariot races, from a beautiful statue in the *Museo Pio-Clementino*, No. 619. In the right hand he holds a palm, the emblem of victory, and in the left, either the reins or a purse containing the money he has won. His costume is that which the *auriga* usually wore in races.



see only him.”<sup>1</sup> Cæsar won still greater applause when one morning, from all parts of the town, people saw statues sparkling with gold at the gates of the Capitol; it was old Marius reappearing with his trophies brought home from Jugurtha and the Cimbri.<sup>2</sup> Cæsar had already, some years earlier, caused the image of Marius to be carried at the funeral of his aunt Julia, and from the platform he had pronounced a panegyric over that lady, the widow of the conqueror of the Cimbri.<sup>3</sup> But the senate had proscribed these trophies, and Sylla had torn them down; now an ædile set them up again! The nobles were struck dumb by such audacity and by the joy of the multitude, which had hastened to greet the image of the man who, in spite of his selfish ambition, had always been loved as the most glorious representative of the people. Well Catulus might exclaim: “It is no longer by secret intrigue, but in the face of heaven, that Cæsar attacks the constitution;”<sup>4</sup> but none dared support him, and the trophies of the popular hero continued to shine above the heads of the trembling senators.

This day was decisive; a party had found its true leader and its colours. Pompey fell to the second place in the affections of the people, while Cæsar rose to the first. The conqueror of Sertorius, of the pirates and Mithridates, might now return; the ædile was in a position to cope with him.

At the expiration of his ædileship (64 B.C.), Cæsar tried to obtain the mission to go and reduce Egypt to a province, in virtue of the will of Ptolemy-Alexander I. This kingdom, through which the whole commerce between Europe and the East then passed, was the richest country in the world. If it did not possess the 23,000 towns that Theocritus assigns to it, it is certain that it paid a yearly tax of 14,800 talents. With such a revenue many debts could be paid, and with the Egyptian harvests many largesses might be bestowed on the people. Crassus and Cæsar disputed the rich prey. Neither of them obtained it. The affair was adjourned,

<sup>1</sup> *Beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur.* (Sall., *Cat.*, 54.)

<sup>2</sup> Plut., *Cæsar*, 6; Vell. Patere., ii. 53; Val. Max., VI. ix. 14.

<sup>3</sup> In 68 B.C., during his quæstorship, contrary to custom, which did not authorize funeral orations over young women, he had pronounced a panegyric upon his wife Cornelia, daughter of Cinna.

<sup>4</sup> Marius had ordered the death of the father of Catulus.



and the tribune Papius by a law drove out all the foreigners whom the two competitors, especially Cæsar, who was already in intimate relations with the Transpadani,<sup>1</sup> had called to Rome to aid in passing their demand.



Egyptian  
Reaping  
Wheat.<sup>2</sup>

Instead of this brilliant mission, Cæsar was called upon to preside at the tribunal charged with the punishment of the murderers, *de sicariis*. Hitherto he had restricted himself to protesting against Sylla's dictatorship; he now wished to inflict a legal disgrace upon it. Among the cases brought before his court were those of the murderers of two proscribed persons, L. Bellianus, who had killed Lucretius Ofella, and another more obscure assassin; he condemned them.<sup>3</sup> In order to make an impression on the senate he went higher still. At his instigation, Labienus, one of the tribunes of the people, in the following year accused the aged senator Rabirius of having, nearly forty years before, slain, on the decree of the senate, an inviolable magistrate, the tribune Saturninus,<sup>4</sup> and he claimed the application of the old law of *perduellio*, which did not, like the law of *majestas*, allow the choice of voluntary exile.<sup>5</sup> Condemned by the duumvirs, Rabirius appealed to the people. But Labienus placed the image of the murdered magistrate on the platform, and allowed the advocate of the accused only half-an-hour for his pleading. In spite of the eloquent efforts of Cicero, in spite of the prayers and tears of the principal senators, Rabirius would have been declared guilty, had not the prætor Metellus Celer snatched down the white flag which floated over the Janiculum.<sup>6</sup> This people of formalists, laughing at themselves, yielded to ancient custom; the meeting was

<sup>1</sup> Dion., xxxvii. 9; Cic., *de Lege agraria*, i. 4; *pro Archia*, 5. On returning from Spain after his quaestorship he had promised the Transpadani, who already possessed the *jus Latii* (Ascon., in *Pison.*, p. 3, ed. of Orelli), to obtain for them the *jus civitatis*, which he afterwards bestowed upon them. (Cf. Suet., *Cæsar*, 8; Dion., xli. 36.)

<sup>2</sup> Coin of one of the Lagidæ (*Cabinet de France*), published by Pellerin, *Médailles des Rois*, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> Suet., *Cæsar*, 12; Dion., xxxvii. 10; Cic., *pro Cluentio*, 29.

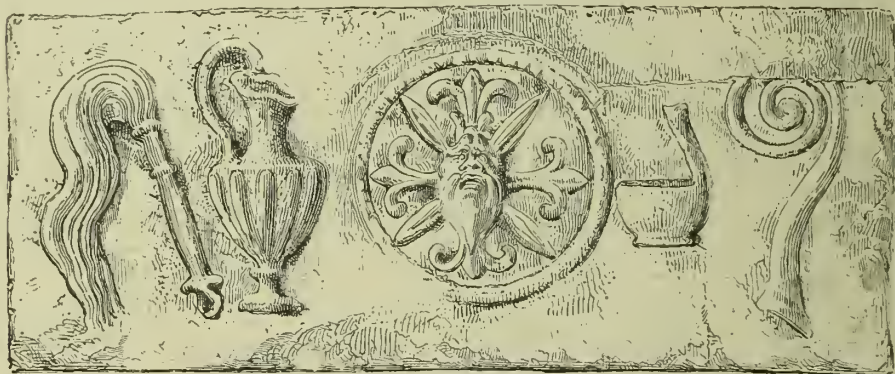
<sup>4</sup> See vol. ii. p. 521. It is not proved that Rabirius was the murderer of Saturninus.

<sup>5</sup> *Alie leges condemnatis civibus non animam eripi sed exilium permitti jubent.* (Sallust, *Cat.*, 51; Cf. Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 66.) The *lex de crimine majestatis* of Sylla seems to have abolished the *crimen perduellionis*, which still appeared in the *leges tabellariæ* of Cassius (137 B.C.) and Cælius (197).

<sup>6</sup> *Roseum bellorum, album comitiorum fuisse tradunt.* (Serv., *ad Æneid.*, viii. 1.) In the time of Dion. (xxxvii. 28) the custom was still observed.

declared dissolved, and Cæsar, satisfied with having once more proved his power, let the affair drop;<sup>1</sup> but the senate were warned that if they ever attempted revolutions the people would crush their tools.<sup>2</sup>

This same Labienus, who served as his lieutenant in the tribuneship, as he was afterwards to serve him twice in the Gallic war, also obtained the abrogation of the Cornelian law relating to the pontiffs, the nomination of whom was restored to the comitia. The people immediately testified their gratitude to Cæsar for this



Insignia of the Pontificate.<sup>3</sup>

by making him high pontiff, a life-office which rendered him inviolable.<sup>4</sup> Neither his loose morals nor the atheism which he openly professed had proved any obstacle. His morals and opinions were those of most men of his time; at this very moment Lucretius was writing his bold poem against the popular religion. The official creed was nothing more than a State institution, but it gave its primate a high position, and Cæsar would not leave to

<sup>1</sup> The same year he accused C. Piso of extortion in Gallia Narbonensis, and of having caused a Transpadan to be unjustly beheaded. Cicero defended the accused, who was acquitted; but by this accusation Cæsar had renewed his old relations with the Transpadani, to whom he was  
\* a kind of patron.

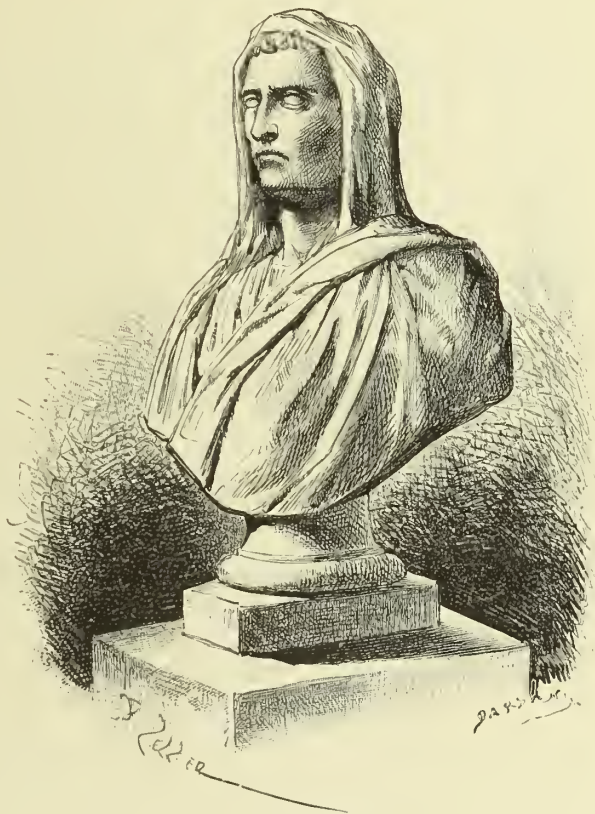
<sup>2</sup> Cicero himself acknowledged that it was the only object of this suit: *Ut illud summum auxilium majestatis atque imperii, quod nobis a majoribus est traditum, de re publica tolleretur* (pro C. Rabirio perd. reo, 1), and: *Ego in C. Rabirio . . . senatus auctoritatem sustinui.* (in Pison., 2.)

<sup>3</sup> A bas-relief from the Museum of St. Germain,

<sup>4</sup> Dion., xxxvii. 37. Marius, his uncle, had him appointed *flamen dialis* (87 B.C.) in the place of Corn. Merula. (Vell. Paterc., ii. 43; Suet., *Cæsar*, 1.) Sylla deprived him of the title, but he recovered it at the death of his uncle, C. Aurelius Cotta, in 74 B.C.

others this means of influence. Catulus, one of his competitors, knowing that he was deeply in debt, had attempted to buy him out by large offers of money. "I will borrow greater sums to succeed," said he, and it may well be believed that he was prepared to resort to force, if his last words to his mother, as he set out for the comitia be true: "To-day I shall either be banished, or you will see me chief pontiff."<sup>1</sup> The same year (63 B.C.) he was nominated for the prætorship, and, as he continued in friendly relations with Pompey, caused him to be awarded by a plebiscitum the right to appear at games wearing a laurel crown and the triumphal robe.

Cicero was then consul. The dread of Cesar and Catiline had obliged the nobility to accept the *novus homo*,<sup>2</sup> the brilliant advocate who had succeeded in winning so many suits, and who whispered to each *consularis* in turn: "In my heart I have ever been with you, on the side of the nobility, never on the side of



Cesar as *pontifex maximus*.<sup>3</sup>

the people. If I have sometimes spoken in the popular interest it was because it was needful for me to win over Pompey, whose

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Cesar*, 7; Vell. Patere., ii. 40; Dion., xxxvii. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero (*de Lege agraria*, ii. 2) describes the kind of proscription which then fell upon *new men*. He had not, he says, at the beginning of his consulship the support of the nobility. Sallust speaks of the same thing. (*Cat.*, 23.)

<sup>3</sup> Bust in the Louvre Museum, representing Cesar as pontiff, with his head veiled.

interest is so necessary in an election.”<sup>1</sup> Moreover, those who offered themselves were little better than Catiline. Galba and Cassius were unknown; Antonius had been expelled from the senate, and could not, as he himself said, have argued at Rome against a Greek with a fair chance of being believed.<sup>2</sup> To drive a man whose moderation naturally classed him among the conservatives into the arms of Caesar or Pompey would have been imprudent, and useless into the bargain.

Supported by the *publicani* and the equestrian order, to whom he had rendered such great services; by the Italian municipalities, who remembered his origin; by the younger nobility, who were enthusiastic about his eloquence, and by the principal agents of the tribes, who for the last two years had made him formal promises, Cicero would have attained the consulship without the aid of the senate and in spite of it. By receiving him with a good grace the nobles won the devotion of the upstart, and provided their party with a great orator for the struggles of the Forum—no inconsiderable acquisition.

Cicero was elected unanimously, without any call to resort to the ballot.<sup>3</sup> His success cut Caesar to the quick, but it was easy to put this popularity to the proof by raising some question in which it would be necessary to declare for people or for senate. The tribune Rullus proposed an agrarian law by which ten commissioners invested with the *imperium* should for five years have absolute power to sell the lands belonging to the Public Domain in Italy, Sicily, Spain, Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, and as far as Pontus, with the exception of those which had been assigned during the dictatorship of Sylla. With the produce of this sale and the revenues of all the provinces, except Asia, which was reserved to Pompey, whom Caesar still humoured, together with the restitution of the spoils of war and the coronal gold that the generals had not placed in the treasury or employed in public monuments, the decemvirs were to buy arable lands in

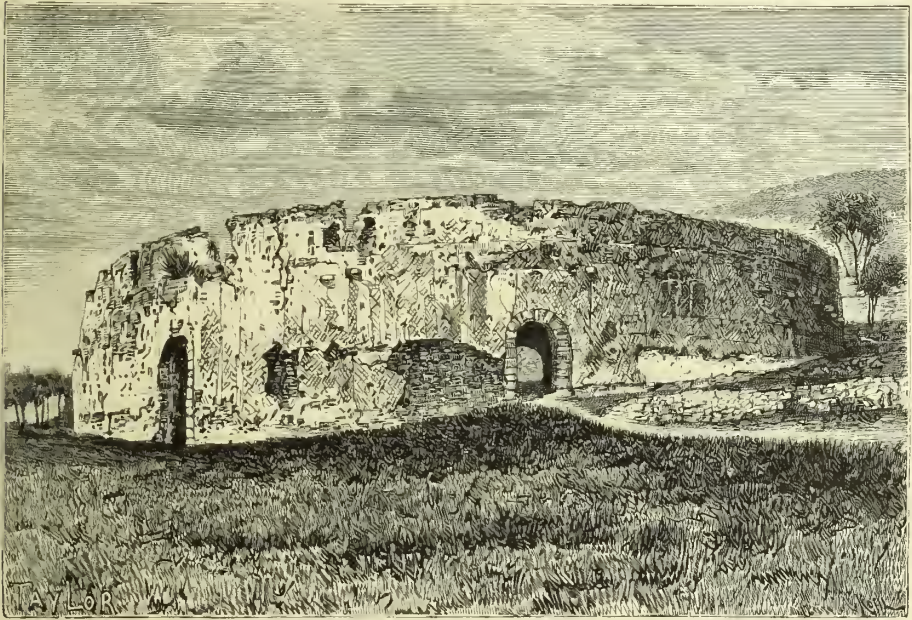
<sup>1</sup> I here do nothing more than translate the advice given him by his brother Quintus: *Minime populares*, etc. (See the treatise *de Petit. cons.*, where Cicero's position is well defined, for some curious and indeed shameful details about canvassing.)

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *de Petit. cons.*, 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Non tabellam . . . sed vocem viram.* (*de Lege agraria*, ii. 2.)



Italy, especially in Campania and the fertile territory of Venafrum and Casinum, and distribute them among the poor. Finally the *rogatio* recognized their right to exact the rent due to the treasury for all public land that they should leave to the present occupiers. By offering to Sylla's colonists an exchange in specie or a guarantee of their holdings, and by allowing an indemnity to those who on being dispossessed by the dictator had lapsed into misery, the ill-feelings excited by the proscriptions would have been allayed. The



Ruins of the Amphitheatre at Casinum (San Germano).<sup>1</sup>

aim therefore of Rullus, or rather of Cæsar, was patriotic. They were desirous of reconciling the present and former landholders, and at the same time of abolishing the proletariat, that festering sore of great cities and wealthy communities which we now try to heal by a more equitable distribution of the profits of industry, but which could then be cured only by grants of land. But the law would also have destroyed all the wealth of the aristocracy by obliging the nobles to refund the spoils of war, which were as much the property of the State as the lands which its arms had conquered, and of which Rullus proposed to dispose. By the

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph.



Romans of the truly Republican age this right had always been respected; a century earlier Cato the censor still acted in conformity with the principle, and Cato of Utica did not divert a single drachme from the Cypriote treasury. In the new Republic different ideas prevailed; Rome's soldiers fought and died, rather with the object of winning gold for their leaders than provinces for their country. The clause introduced by the tribune would have ruined Sylla's son, Lucullus, Metellus, Catulus, and a hundred more. It was indeed a remodelling of the State, a profound conception which shows Cæsar's inspiration and his genius for reform; but it was also an extremely complicated law, difficult of application. The nobles, who held the public land, and the knights, who farmed the taxes, were equally threatened; they declared that a dictatorship must result from a law which conferred such powers. It was a case for Cicero, who was generally their advocate, to plead; he did so in four eloquent speeches.<sup>1</sup> With extreme cleverness he demonstrated to the poor that by having lands given them, they were being robbed; that while liberty was preached to them, they were about to be enslaved; and in the midst of this fertile Campania which was offered to them, he showed the threatening phantom of Capua, resuscitated, and threatening Rome as she had done in the days of Hannibal. His eloquence, aided by the money of the rich, prevented the passing of the law. But even while he repeated that he desired to be a popular consul, Cicero had been forced by his new position to explain what he understood by popularity. His reasons are excellent. Nevertheless the people, when they heard him speak only of submission to the present state of things, must have thought that the portrait of a popular leader sketched by their consul bore a strange resemblance to that of a devoted partizan of the nobility. Cæsar, whom Cicero had attacked in veiled words,<sup>2</sup> was beaten, yet he had attained an important end; the position of the brilliant pleader who had just spoken with such effect was thenceforward fixed:

<sup>1</sup> Only three are left, but Cicero (*ad Att.*, ii. 1) mentions four. Three years later he wrote to Atticus (i. 19): *Confirmabam omnium privatorum possessiones, is enim est noster exercitus hominum, ut tute scis, locupletium.* We see that his political ideas were confined to the safe-keeping of the interests of the wealthy, even against the most legitimate claims.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *de Lege agraria* (i. 7): *Hi quos multo magis quam Rullum timetis*; and ch. 24: *Eis quibus ad habendum, ad consumendum nihil satis esse videatur.*

Cicero was no longer anything but the orator of the wealthy classes.

Another tribune proposed to set a limit to the civic degradation with which Sylla had stricken the posterity of his victims. The decree was very cruel, as Cicero admitted,<sup>1</sup> and the first act of Cæsar's dictatorship was to suppress it. But after recovering their political rights the sons of the proscribed might perhaps demand back their confiscated property; Cicero caused the rejection of this *rogatio* also. When the people hissed the tribune Roscius, for having assigned to the knights separate places at the theatre, the consul, who loved to mount the rostra,<sup>2</sup> led the crowd to the temple of Bellona, cried shame on them for giving way to despicable envy, lauded the equestrian order, and led them back repentant to the theatre. "This," says Quintilian, "was his greatest oratorical triumph." But when the people were no longer under the spell of his eloquent language they relapsed into their ill-will and anger. Cicero's popularity no longer seemed formidable.

During the whole of this consulship Cæsar had ceaselessly harassed Cicero. Yet the attacks of the popular party were not the consul's chief cause of preoccupation. Catiline caused him much greater uneasiness. Frightened at the progress made by the conspiracy at Rome and throughout Italy, he began to see that if it was a question of influence and power between the senate and Cæsar, it was a question of life and death between Catiline and the nobles. At the last consular elections Antonius had only beaten Catiline by a few votes, and the latter had put down his name again as a candidate for the year 62 B.C. In order to prevent his election Cicero and the senate supported Silanus and Murena, both friends of Crassus and Cæsar, with a view to winning over those two powerful men who were suspected of viewing with pleasure the dangers with which Catiline threatened the oligarchy.<sup>3</sup> As a last resource, in case the latter should be

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *ad Att.*, ii. 1; in *Pison.*, 2; Plut., *Cic.*, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *De Lege agraria*, ii. 3. He will not, he says, imitate the example of his predecessors, who carefully avoided the rostra: *aditum hujus loci conspectumque vestrum*.

<sup>3</sup> . . . . *Res publica in paucorum jus atque ditionem concessit*. See the speech which Sallust puts in Catiline's mouth. (*Cat.*, 20.) It is the work of the historian, but it is also the opinion of a contemporary and an eyewitness. Sallust was twenty-six at the time of Catiline's death, and he had lived at Rome. Sallust does not believe in the dreadful oath by which

elected, Cicero obtained the addition of exile of ten years to the penalties imposed by the laws on election bribery.<sup>1</sup> Catiline growing impatient had decided that if he did not succeed this time he would risk everything. His preparations were completed, arms were collected in different places. Veterans in Umbria, Etruria, and Samnium, long since worked upon by his emissaries, made ready in silence. The fleet of Ostia seemed to be won over to his side. Sittius Nucerinus promised to raise Africa, and perhaps Spain. At Rome, no doubt Cicero exercised an annoying vigilance, but he had no forces at hand, all the legions being in Asia with Pompey, and Catiline thought he could reckon upon Antonius, the other consul; lastly, one of the conspirators, L. Bestia, was tribune-elect and another was prætor. He hoped therefore, that it would be enough to give the signal for his armies to appear suddenly before the walls of Rome, where other accomplices would set fire to various points, so that amid the confusion they might get at the senate and the consuls. A few of the conspirators, especially Lentulus Sura,<sup>2</sup> a ruined and dishonoured man, talked of arming the slaves, who were showing signs of restlessness in Apulia. Catiline hesitated to let loose

Catiline desired to bind his accomplices; he is right in not believing; but Florus, Plutarch, and Dion have collected these horrors, which Cicero would not have failed to parade had they been true.

<sup>1</sup> This law also required of every candidate that he should not have given gladiatorial combats in the two years preceding his candidature. Another law, the *Tullian*, reduced to one year the longest duration of the *legationes liberæ*.

<sup>2</sup> Among the conspirators, besides Lentulus, who had been consul in 71 B.C., and whom the censors of 70 had expelled from the senate, Sallust mentions P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, Cethegus, a member, like Lentulus, of the *gens Cornelia*, two nephews of the dictator, Publius and Servius Sulla, L. Vargunteius, an ex-quæstor who had also suffered the disgrace of a conviction, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L. Bestia and Q. Curius, all senators; among the knights; M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinus Capito and C. Cornelius. Lentulus when quæstor had embezzled public funds; on being arraigned he was acquitted by a majority of two votes; "I have bought one too many," said he. (Plut., *Cic.*) During his prætorship he presided at the tribune before which was argued the case of Varro, the governor of Asia, Hortensius, the defendant's counsel, bribed president and judges; but to make sure that these should really earn their money he gave them different coloured tablets. (Cic., *in Ferr.*, 1, and Asconius.) To regain entrance into the senate Lentulus again canvassed the prætorship (64 B.C.). The Sibylline Books said that CC and C should reign at Rome; already the prophecy had been realized in Cinna and Cornelius Sylla, the third was evidently Cornelius Lentulus. The *Sibylline Prince*, as Porcius Latro calls him, threw himself heart and soul into the conspiracy, which included three other members of the same house, so much had Sylla's success excited the most vulgar ambitions. P. Autronius, consul-elect for the preceding year, had been removed from office; Cassius Longinus had canvassed the same office in vain in 64; Bestia was then tribune; Gabinus had been condemned for extortion in Achæa.



a horde whom he feared he should not afterwards be able to master. His accomplices were only anxious to escape from their creditors and judges; he had a higher ambition. In full senate he dared to say: "The Roman people is a strong body, but headless; I will be its head." And on another occasion; "They wish to set fire to my house; I will extinguish it beneath ruins."<sup>1</sup> Less clever than Cæsar or Pompey, he took up a position outside



Ostia, *Via Romana*.<sup>2</sup>

the constitution in order to overturn it with a single blow, assured that his partizans once sated with gold would leave him the power—even though one of them, Lentulus, thought himself predestined to rule over Rome.<sup>3</sup>

He awaited with anxiety the issue of the consular comitia. Cicero, who through the revelations of one of the conspirators

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *pro Murena*, 25; Sall., *Cat.*, 31: *Incendium meum ruina restinguam.*

<sup>2</sup> Roman road leading down to Ostia and bordered with ruined tombs.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *in Cat.*, iii. 4; Plut., *Cic.*, 17.

was already in possession of all their secrets,<sup>1</sup> came to preside at the assembly with a cuirass visible beneath his toga; soldiers occupied the neighbouring temples, and a crowd of knights surrounded the consul. Silanus and Murena, the two candidates of the senatorial party carried the election.<sup>2</sup>

The same day, emissaries issued from all the gates of Rome, and, some time afterwards the senate learned that armed gatherings had been seen in Picenum and Apulia; that the fortress of Præneste had almost been taken by surprise; that at Capua a rising of the slaves was dreaded; that one of Sylla's old officers, Mallius, was encamped before Fæsulæ with an army of soldiers drawn from the military colonies and ruined peasantry; and finally, that at Rome two conspirators had attempted to get into Cicero's house at daybreak in order to assassinate him.<sup>3</sup> Fortunately two proconsuls, Marcins Rex and Metellus Cretiens, had just arrived from the East, and were waiting outside the gates with some of their troops the triumph which they had solicited. The first named was immediately ordered to proceed against Mallius, the second to Apulia; another prætor went into Picenum, and Pompeius Rufus hastened to Capua to bring away the gladiators, whom he distributed in small bands among the neighbouring municipia. Rome was put in what we should call a state of siege. The consuls were invested by the senate with discretionary power, and offered rewards for information; they raised troops, placed guards at the gates and upon the walls, and ordered patrols throughout the city. This military display, these fears of an invisible enemy, increased the public terror; all the nobles felt themselves threatened by a great peril, which was not on the frontiers, but around them, over them, and they knew not how to meet it. Cicero knew well that amid this terror the slightest incident would be sufficient to upset all his plans, but he would precipitate nothing; they were no longer in the days of Servilius

<sup>1</sup> See, in Sallust, the part played by Crassus, an ex-quæstor, who had been expelled from the senate eight years before, and by his mistress Fulvia.

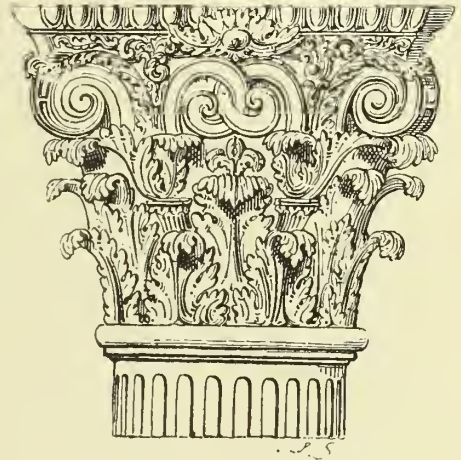
<sup>2</sup> Murena was accused of canvassing by Sulpicius, whom Cato supported, to Cicero's great displeasure, for a condemnation would have given all his chance over to Catiline. Accordingly he, with Hortensius and Crassus, undertook his defence; Murena was acquitted.

<sup>3</sup> Sall., *Cat.*, 27, 30; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 3. See in the *II. Catilinaris*, 3, for the description of Mallius' army.



Ahala; violence would not perhaps have succeeded; and he knew that an energetic action which fails in its object is the death blow of a weak government. The senate must veil its weakness under a respect for legality. It had many other enemies. Which side would Crassus and Cæsar take? They would certainly set themselves against an act of justice which could be called proscription and tyranny. In order to isolate the conspirators it was necessary, then, to oblige them to unmask their incendiary schemes; and still Catiline remained at Rome, Catiline attended the senate.

On the 8th of November the consul had assembled the senators in the temple of Jupiter Stator. Catiline appeared there, too; at the sight of him Cicero burst forth upon him in his famous oration,<sup>1</sup> in which he told him to his face all the details of his conspiracy, and while speaking, lest Catiline should look upon his words as a sign of weakness, he pointed to the Roman knights who surrounded the curia with angry gestures, ready at a sign to strike down the enemy of all the rich. But the consul saw that the populace was in favour of the rebel;<sup>1</sup> he feared lest the criminals' blood should some day be upon his head, and with all his might he pressed him to declare open war, that he might legally declare him a public enemy. He remembered Scipio Nasica and Opimius, who had died miserably for having served an oligarchy far stronger than that he was now defending, and he would have been satisfied with the voluntary exile of Catiline.



Capital from the Temple of Jupiter Stator.<sup>2</sup>

Driven out by the eloquent speech of the great orator, Catiline

<sup>1</sup> Extant as the *First Speech against Catiline*.

<sup>2</sup> Bosc, *Dict. raisonné d'architecture*, vol. i. p. 394.

<sup>3</sup> *Nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, non eropant* (Sall., *Cat.*, 37); . . . qui probro . . . præstabant . . . Romam sicut in sentinam confluerant. (*Ibid.*)

quitted the senate with threats upon his tongue. When night fell he left Rome, and after some hesitation he went and placed himself at the head of the troops of Mallius, taking them, as a pledge of victory, a silver eagle, under which Marius' soldiers had fought at Aix and Verceil.<sup>1</sup>



An *Aquilifer*.<sup>3</sup>

At starting he had placed his wife, Orestilla, under the protection of Q. Catulus in a letter in which he said: "Driven to desperation by the injustice which deprives me of well-earned rewards, while they are accorded to unworthy men, I have embraced the cause of the outcast. It was the only course left open to me to save my honour."<sup>2</sup> In the eyes of these patri- cians an election defeat was an insult, because it lessened their *dignity*. Catiline had no right perhaps to speak as he did, but the feeling of what was due to a Roman of high birth filled the souls of these nobles even when they had fallen into public contempt.

Before going away Catiline had sent word to the conspirators whom he had left in the city still to count upon him, and that he would soon be back at the gates of Rome. Cicero tried to get rid of them, as he had done of their leader, by exposing their schemes at a meeting of the people, pouring out upon them by turns sarcasms and threats.<sup>4</sup>

"At last, Quirites, this bold man has quitted our walls; Catiline has fled; his fears or his fury have carried him away .

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *in Cat.*, i. and ii. Catiline left Rome on the 9th of November, 63 B.C., which answers to the 13th of January, 62, in the reformed calendar.

Sall., *Cat.*, 35.

<sup>3</sup> From the column of Trajan.

This is the subject of the second *Speech against Catiline*.

from us. The security of the State demanded his death. But how many among you refused to believe in his crimes! How many treated them as idle fancies, or found excuses for them! Now none will doubt, and you will fight him face to face, since he publicly declares himself your enemy. Why did he not take with him his dangerous accomplices. For his army, that mob of hoary desperadoes, bankrupt peasants, and fugitive debtors, I have the greatest contempt. It is not the sword that will put them to flight; it will be enough to show them the prætor's edict. But there are others scented, and clad in purple, who go to and fro in the Forum, besiege the door of the senate, and even enter into the curia. These it is among his soldiers whom I should have wished to see depart with him. The gates are open, the roads are free. What are they waiting for? They are strangely mistaken if they think that my long patience will never be wearied out. Whosoever shall make a disturbance in the city or undertake aught against his country will learn that Rome has vigilant consuls, a courageous senate, arms, and a prison in which our ancestors willed that manifest crimes should be expiated."

A few only of the conspirators took flight and left. Among these was the son of a senator; his father being told of it had him pursued and slain by his slaves.<sup>1</sup> But Lentulus, Cethegus, and Bestia remained at Rome, now talking of accusing Cicero for having exiled a citizen without trial, now plotting a general massacre of the magistrates during the ensuing saturnalia. Cicero by means of numerous spies followed all their movements, yet he he dared not strike, because he lacked written proofs, but the imprudence of the conspirators furnished them.

There were then at Rome some Allobrogian deputies who had long been vainly demanding justice for their nation, ruined as it was by the exactions of the governors. Lentulus sounded them through Umbrenus, reckoning upon making their discontent available for his cause. They yielded and promised the assistance of their cavalry; then, reflecting upon the dangers of such an alliance, they went and revealed all to Fabius Sanga, their patron at Rome. He hurried them before the consul, who ordered them to obtain

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max., V. viii. 5; Dion., xxxvii. 36.

from Lentulus a written agreement. Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius sealed with their seals the letters demanded, and gave full powers to Volturcius, who set out at the same time as the deputies. The Milvian Bridge, over which they must pass, was surrounded; they and their despatches were seized, and before the news had spread, Cicero summoned before him the principal conspirators, who having no suspicion, answered his call. Without questioning them, without opening their letters, he led them to the temple of Concord, where the senate was assembled to hear the case against them. Overwhelmed by the depositions of Volturcius and the Allobroges, the accused acknowledged their seals, not daring to avow or deny anything. Lentulus was so completely prostrated<sup>1</sup> that he resigned his prætorship before the meeting was over; he was placed in the custody of the ædile Spinther, Statilius was assigned to Cæsar, Gabinius to Crassus, Cethegus to Corinfcicus, Ceparius to Cn. Terentius. Before separating, the senate passed a vote of thanks to the consul whose vigilance had saved the Republic, and decreed that solemn supplications should be offered to the gods as they were for victories won by the armies. Cicero was the first who had merited that honour without wearing the garb of war.

He hastened to lay these revelations before the people,<sup>2</sup> and the masses, which had hitherto been indifferent to the dangers that threatened the oligarchy, were indignant at the alliance of the conspirators with a barbarous people, and by the appeal made to Catiline to hasten to Rome even with an army of slaves, while his accomplices set fire to the city and began the massacre. Every man, even the poorest, felt himself threatened, and the consul felt safe in hurrying on matters in the senate. On the 5th of December,<sup>3</sup> that day of the nones which he so often celebrated, Cicero opened the debate upon the fate of the conspirators. Attempts were made by many to involve their personal enemies in the coming proscription. Catulus, and in a marked manner Piso, pressed Cicero to make the Allobroges implicate Cæsar. Others raised up accusers against Crassus.<sup>4</sup> But Cicero knew well that in

<sup>1</sup> A great quantity of arms had been found at his house.

<sup>2</sup> The *Third Oration against Catiline*, delivered on the 3rd of December.

<sup>3</sup> Answering to the 7th of February, 62 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> We have just seen that Catulus had been Cæsar's unsuccessful rival in the competition for the pontificate, and that Cæsar had brought a criminal charge against Piso. Crassus was named



attacking them the senate would have to deal with too strong a party. It was quite enough to settle with Catiline, to crush a civil war, and to accomplish one illegal execution.

The senate had no judicial power; the right of pronouncing capital sentence was reserved for the assembly of the people alone. The senate was therefore, about to commit an act of usurpation, and the responsibility must fall upon the consul. Accordingly Cicero's conduct was at the same time full of reserve and of boldness. Even while violating the spirit of the constitution he scrupulously followed its forms; he did not have the conspirators arrested in their homes, that the domiciles of citizens might be respected; he did not give Lentulus over to the lictors; he himself led him by the hand into the midst of the senate, because only a consul could *constrain* a prætor; and lastly, he caused the conspirators to be declared public enemies, *perduelles*, that they might be proceeded against as if they were no longer citizens. But he appeared to dread increasing the number of the accused, and from so many guilty he demanded the condemnation of five only. If in the curia he proudly declared that he took all upon himself, he did not forget to display the solidarity of the senate and its consul. For nearly two months he had left unemployed the decree giving him absolute power; even now he was anxious that the sentence should be pronounced by that assembly, that he might appear only as its instrument, and that his cause might become that of the senate.

He had moreover, neglected no means of reassuring the senators by an exceptional display of power. All the citizens had taken the military oath the day before;<sup>1</sup> many were enrolled and stood in arms to guard the Capitol; strong patrols paraded the streets, and the consul's ordinary escort of young knights surrounded the temple of Concord, where the Fathers had assembled. Silanus, the consul-elect, was asked first, and voted for the extreme penalty,<sup>2</sup>

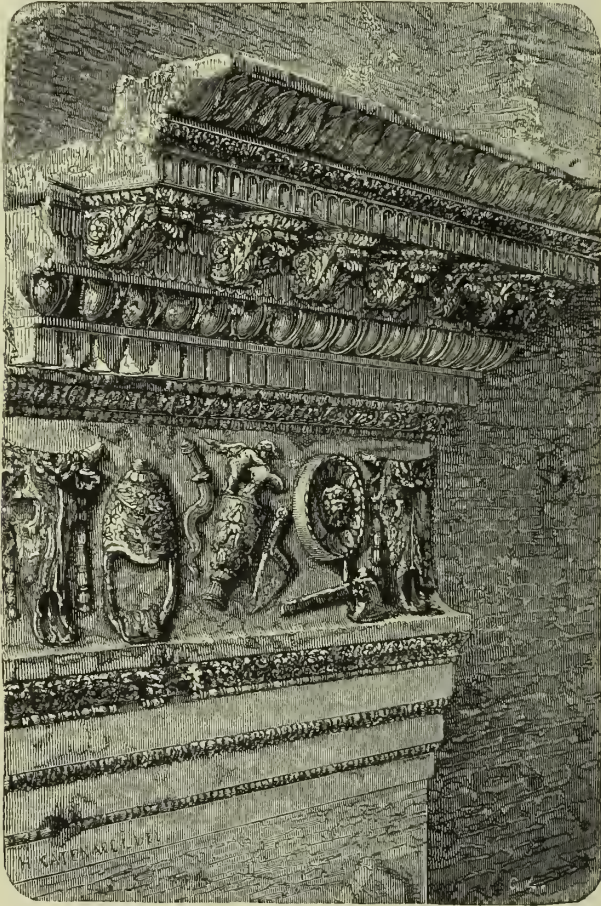
in full senate by one of the conspirators. Sallust (*Cat.*, 48) asserts that he had heard it said by Crassus that it was to Cicero he owed this insult.

<sup>1</sup> In the preceding year Rabirius, when condemned as a *perduellis*, had appealed to the people, and Cicero had declared that, since the passing of the law of *majestas*, the *crimen perduellionis* could no longer be recognized. In his *pro Rabirio* he had recalled the law of Caius Gracchus; *Ne de capite civium Romanorum injussu vestro judicaretur*, and in the *de Leg.*, iii. 2, *de capite civis*, he repeats; *nisi per maximum comitiatum . . . ne ferunto*.

<sup>2</sup> Τῇν ἐσχάτην δίκην (Plut., *Cic.*, 27); Dion., xxxvii. 35.



and all the *consulares* followed his lead. Cæsar, who was then prætor-elect, dared to support a milder opinion; he voted for perpetual detention in a *municipium* and confiscation of their property. As leader of the popular party it was part of his policy to invoke the laws in opposing the violence of a frightened



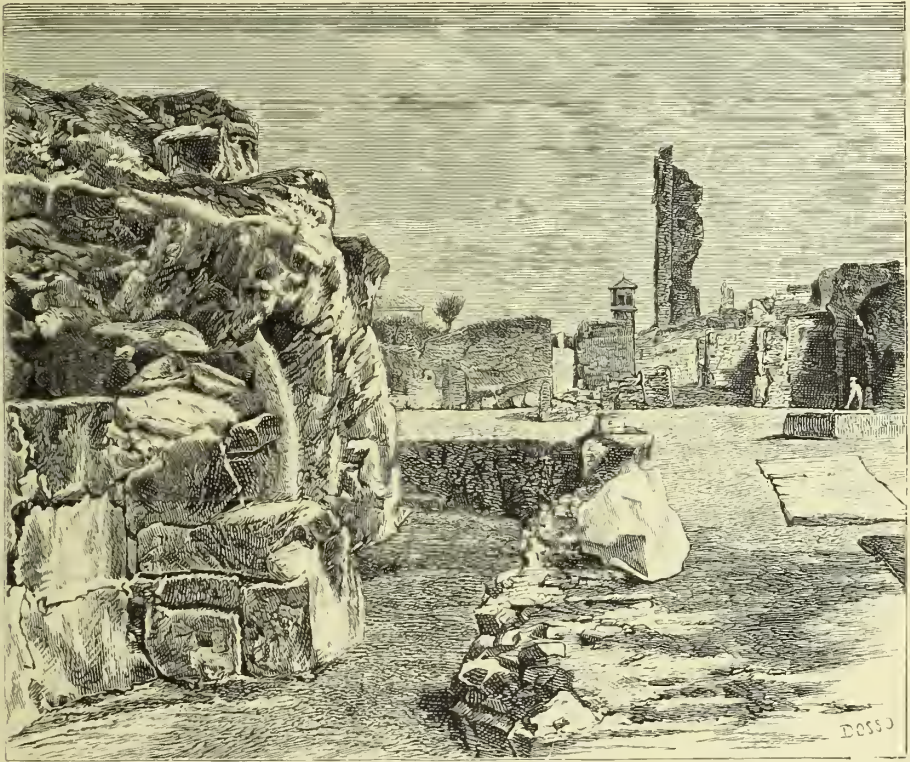
Frieze of the Temple of Concord.<sup>1</sup>

and angry oligarchy. Moreover, the people did not look upon the conspiracy with the same eyes as the higher classes did. The manifesto published a few days previously by Mallius seemed to be such as every poor man in Rome might issue. To speak in favour of the conspirators was therefore to brave the oligarchy in the very moment of victory and to win favour with the people,

<sup>1</sup> Wey, *Rome*, p. 30.

who, as Cæsar said, so soon forget the crimes of great criminals and to pity their sufferings.<sup>1</sup>

Already the greater part of the senate, including Quintus, the consul's brother, shaken in their determination, were coming over to his views, and Silanus explained his own words in the same sense as Cæsar's. Then Cicero rose and pointed out the danger of stopping after having gone so far ; but although he had again in this speech courageously assumed the sole responsibility, yet by making



The Palatine.<sup>2</sup>

it appear terrible and threatening, in order to magnify the greatness of his own part, he had frightened his colleagues, who would perhaps have abandoned him had not Cato come to his aid with

<sup>1</sup> See his speech in Sallust (*Cat.*, 51). It is in this speech that he, the high pontiff, declares that death is the end of all pain, that beyond it there is neither joy nor grief.

<sup>2</sup> Remains of the wall of *Roma Quadrata*, beneath the temple of Jupiter Victor, from a photograph by Parker.



his rough eloquence and bitter recriminations against Cæsar.<sup>1</sup> The assembly was carried away and voted for death.<sup>2</sup> Cicero attempted, in order to compromise Cæsar, to add thereto the confiscation of property which he had proposed; thus the discussion began again, this time full of anger and violence. "It is odious," said Cæsar, "to reject what was humane in my advice, and to adopt only its rigorous provisions." The consul, who was anxious to bring the affair to a close, consented to omit confiscation in the *senatus-consultum*. At one moment the tumult had been so great that the knights who surrounded the temple had invaded the curia and threatened to slay Cæsar.<sup>3</sup>

Cicero lost not a moment in order that Cæsar might not have time to rouse the tribunes, or the senate time to retract. He himself went and fetched Lentulus from the house in the Palatine in which he was detained, and led him to the Tullianum, whither the prætors brought the other conspirators. The *triumviri capitales* were awaiting them. Lentulus was strangled first. Over his corpse Cethegus, Gabinius, Statilius, and Ceparius suffered the same death. When the consul crossed the Forum for the second time, as he came down from the prison he uttered these words only: "They have lived;" and the crowd dispersed in silence (December 5, 63 B.C.). No one at the time reflected that the Fathers and their consul had just effected a revolution by usurping a judicial power which the law did not allow them. But Clodius was soon to demand an account from Cicero, and Cæsar from the senate. Sooner or later political mistakes are expiated.

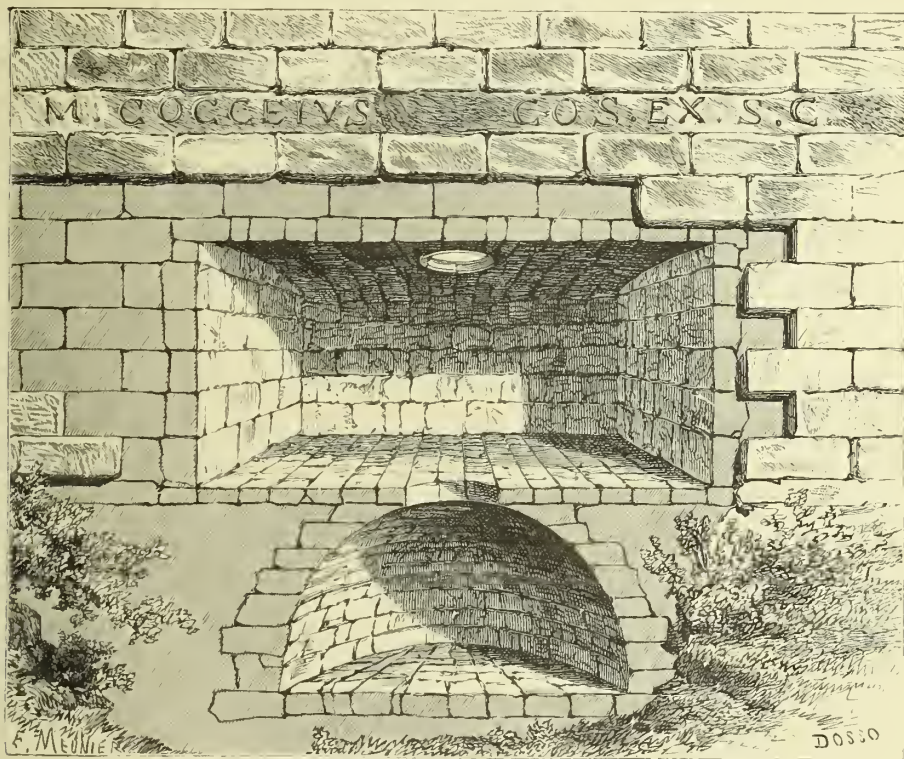
The success of the senate's generals had no doubt given Cicero confidence to accomplish what he looked upon as the feature of his consulship and a great service rendered to his country. Everywhere the movement had been suppressed by the mere presence of the troops. There had been no serious resistance except in Etruria. Cicero, who had bought the co-operation of his

<sup>1</sup> See in Plutarch (*Cat.*, 24) an incident which shows at once both the suspicious character of Cato and the manners of Cæsar on the occasion of the note of Servilia, Cato's sister, which note the latter took for a conspirator's letter.

<sup>2</sup> Suet., *Cæsar*, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Eighteen years later Cicero still boasted of having pronounced the sentence before collecting the votes: *ante quam consulerem, ipse judicaverim*. (*ad Att.*, xii. 21.)—"The execution of the Catilinarians was an act of sanguinary panic, such as provokes and may sometimes compel retaliation." (Merivale, *History of the Romans*, vol. i. p. 190, note 2.)

colleague Antonius by ceding to him the lucrative government of Macedonia, had placed him at the head of the troops directed against Catiline, but he had all his movements watched by one of his most devoted friends, the quæstor Sextius. This army protected Rome, while another, under the orders of Metellus, occupied Gallia Cisalpina and threatened Catiline's rear. The latter had collected



*Tullianum*: Section of the Prison where Death Sentences were carried out <sup>1</sup> (p. 32).

20,000 men, of whom only a fourth part were armed. Instead of attacking suddenly he lost precious time in negotiating for the

<sup>1</sup> The prison in which Rome executed her guilty, kings and heroes, Jugurtha and Veringetorix, was made up of two dungeons, one beneath the other, the *Mamertinum*, which we shall give later, and the *Tullianum*, which is represented in vol. ii. p. 480. We here give a section of the two dungeons. The *Mamertinum*, twenty feet long, sixteen feet broad, and formed of large blocks of peperino, had no door, but communicated by a narrow opening with the *Tullianum*, or lower dungeon, which was smaller and almost circular in shape. There the condemned were strangled. The corpses were drawn up to be exposed on the Gemoniæ, whence they were dragged with hooks down to the Tiber; this bitter people were not content with the death of their enemies, they must also have an opportunity of insulting their remains and persecuting them even in death by refusing them a tomb. Christian tradition makes St. Peter a prisoner in the *Tullianum*, which has now become the chapel of *San Pietro in Carcere*.



defection of Antonius. But on receipt of the news of the execution of Lentulus, the consul felt that the cause of the conspirators was lost, and he finally set his army in motion. Desertion immediately set in among Catiline's troops; at the end of a few days he had not more than 3,000 or 4,000 men left. He tried to beat a retreat, cross the Apennines, and reach the Alps and Gaul in order to play Sertorius over again. Behind him Metellus held all the passes; in desperation he turned back on the consular army, which Antonius had placed under the orders of an old and able soldier named Petreius, and he met it not far from Pistoia. Before the battle Catiline sent away his horse, like Spartacus, and placed himself in the centre with a picked body of men. The action was desperate;<sup>1</sup> not one of his soldiers gave way or asked for quarter; he himself was found, far in front of his men, amid a heap of slain, still breathing. His head was cut off and sent to Rome. History, even while it condemns them, retains some pity for these great insurgents who could die so gallantly, and popular imagination goes farther than history: at Rome his tomb was covered with flowers,<sup>2</sup> as Nero's was later on, and in the most ancient chronicles of Florence, Catiline plays the character of a national hero.<sup>3</sup>

When we see this easy success and the little blood it was necessary to shed, at Rome only that of five obscure and disreputable persons, on the battlefield that of a troop, rather than an army, of old soldiers abandoned by everyone, we are led to suspect that Cicero's eloquence has misled us as to the true importance of this affair. He thought he had stifled a great faction, whereas he had only put down a common conspiracy. The poisonous elements that Catiline collected had not, in fact, been able to assume the consistency of a political party. From these

<sup>1</sup> This battle took place a few days after the new consuls entered upon office: 'Ἐν ἀρχῇ εὐθὺς τοῦ ἔτους ἐν ᾧ Ἰούλιός τε Σιλανὸς καὶ Λούκιος Λικίνιος ἤρξαν, and consequently at the beginning of 62 B.C. (the middle of March of the true year). (Dion., xxxvii. 39; Livy, *Epit.*, ciii.) The matter did not end there; for nearly a year there were accusations and exiles. (Cf. Cic., *pro Sulla*, and Dion., xxxvii. 41.) As for the victor, Antonius, he was governor of Macedonia in the following year, and got into such disgrace by his exactions that he was exiled, and in 49 Cæsar refused to recall him.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *pro Flacco*, 38.

<sup>3</sup> Malespini, *Istor. Fiorent.*, cc. 13-21. Coins have been found near Fiesole, the most recent of which dates from the consulship of Cicero. Some peasant, frightened by the civil war, had hidden his treasure there and could never get back to recover it.

meetings there might easily spring murder and incendiarism, but not a revolution, for revolutions are brought about by the opinions and needs of a numerous class which is or may be the majority. Selfish passions bring forth only fruitless plots.

### III.—TROUBLES AT ROME UP TO THE FORMATION OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE (62—60 B.C.).

This bold blow aimed at society seemed for a time however, to have saved the government. The senate had given proof of vigilance and energy; people believed in its power. It caught up this pleasant illusion. Pompey appeared less great, Cæsar less formidable, and it forgot the indignation it had displayed on the day when Tarquinius accused Crassus of complicity with Catiline. Cicero especially flattered himself that he had frightened and permanently cowed ambitious men and factions. "Let arms give place to the toga," cried the dazzled *consularis*. And in order that he might still remain the hero of peace and of the city, he would not even take up his province of Gallia Cisalpina. He was quickly undeceived. He had written to Pompey as an equal, as a conqueror; the general did not deign a reply. Pompey moreover, had despatched to Rome one of his officers, Metellus Nepos, who easily obtained the tribuneship, and declared himself the consul's enemy. On laying down the fasces Cicero proposed to address the people in laudation of his "immortal consulship," which however, if we except the execution of Lentulus and his accomplices, had not been marked by any event but the passing of two unimportant laws. "The man who did not allow the accused to defend themselves shall not defend himself," said the tribune, and he ordered him to confine himself to the customary oath, that he had done nothing against the laws. "I swear," cried Cicero, "that I have saved the Republic!" To this appeal Cato and the senators replied by greeting him with the name of Father of his Country, which the people confirmed by their applause.

But when the intoxication of this last triumph had passed, and Cicero had become calm again, he saw the situation better. Pompey was withdrawing himself from both him and the senate;

Crassus accused Cicero of having calumniated him, and nourished a mortal hatred against him; and finally, one of the tribunes seemed to threaten him with a capital accusation, in spite of the *senatus-consultum*, by which all proceedings were forbidden against those who had assisted in punishing the conspirators. The prudent *consularis* set himself to calm all this resentment; he tried to appease Crassus;<sup>1</sup> he loudly proclaimed the zeal shown by Cæsar, and he humbled himself before Pompey, whom he placed above Scipio, by asking for the place of Lælius beside him.<sup>2</sup> He even sought friends from among Catiline's accomplices. Publ. Sylla, one of the conspirators, was defended by him and acquitted, in spite of the clear proofs against him. Are we to believe Aulus Gellius, who affirms that the accused had lent his advocate 2,000,000 sesterces, with which he bought himself a magnificent house?

As for Metellus Nepos, he had as his colleague in the tribuneship a citizen on whom Cicero and the senate could count, M. Porcius Cato. A man of perfect integrity, never compromising even with himself, Cato was perhaps of all the famous personages of antiquity the one who possessed the highest idea of duty.<sup>3</sup> Like his ancestor, whose bluntness he inherited, he made himself censor of the men of his time; ceaselessly and without stint he fought for what he believed to be the right, and when he thought he owed his cause a last example, he killed himself, that his blood might stain the triumphal crown of the victor and remain the last protest of liberty.

Unhappily this man of worth, who, as prætor, came to preside at his court bare-footed and with no tunic under his toga, made himself ridiculous by his affectation of rusticity, and he understood neither the things nor the men among whom he lived.<sup>4</sup> He was

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *ad Att.*, i. 14. Crassus only praised him after Pompey's return, and in order to match the latter by extolling another man's services.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Fam.*, v. 7; Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.*, xii. 12. The great advocates of Rome proclaimed that they received nothing from their clients; they were only friends, to whom they lent the assistance of their eloquence. Cicero says so in twenty places, and makes it a reproach against Hortensius in the *Verrine Orations*, for instance, that his zeal is not disinterested. But the clients had to pay on election days; moreover, presents replaced fees.

<sup>3</sup> [This estimate of Cato is surely far above the truth. To put him on a level with Socrates or with M. Aurelius is unjust to both these men.—*Ed.*]

<sup>4</sup> There is still in existence, however, a letter addressed to Cicero which we should not have expected to see signed with his name, and in which he shows himself a match for the great wit. (*ad Fam.*, xv. 5.)

one of those extreme conservatives who would fain arrest time and bring back the dead. The elder Cato, a man of original and sound mind, exercised a great influence; his great grandson had none whatever; he did not even attain the consulship, and only lived in the memory of posterity by his death.

He had already been quaestor; his predecessors, all young nobles, who quickly grew tired of figures and financial affairs, left these fatiguing duties to the clerks of the treasury, while they betook themselves to their own pleasures. Hence came a fearful waste of public funds, the admission of false credits, and debts to the treasury that remained unpaid. Cato had watched these officials, and, in spite of their clamour and the interested protection of a few important people, had succeeded in bringing them back to order and duty. The murderers of the proscribed had received as much as two talents for each head they brought in. Cato had prosecuted them as misappropriating public funds, and compelled restitution.

The senators feared him because he spared no one; but the senate loved him because their body had in him an intrepid champion. We have seen how he behaved at the condemnation of Lentulus. A short time before, he had been on the road to Lucania, whither he was going to visit his property, when he met a long train of beasts of burden carrying baggage. He inquired to whom all this belonged, and on being answered that it belonged to Metellus Nepos, who was returning to Rome to canvass the tribuneship, said, "This is no longer a time to go to the country and rest oneself; this agent of Pompey's will fall on the government like a thunderbolt;" and forthwith he turned back and claimed the tribuneship for himself. The people had just sold the consular fasces to Murena; Cicero knew this, but in the face of Catiline, who was not yet vanquished, he thought it dangerous to condemn a noble, to recommence the election, and, in spite of the *lex Tullia*, he undertook the defence of Murena, whom Cato, a stranger to all interested prudence, accused. In order to destroy the ascendancy of such a name, Cicero attacked his too rigid virtue with sarcasms. "Would you know, judges, what a sage of the Porch is? He yields nothing by favour, he never pardons. He alone is handsome, were he a cripple, bandy-legged, and crooked;



he alone is rich, though he be a beggar; he is king, though he be a slave. We, the rest, who do not possess wisdom, are fugitives, exiles, enemies, fools. All faults are equal, every offence is a crime. To strangle a father or to wring the neck of a chicken needlessly is one and the same thing. The sage never doubts, never repents, is never mistaken, and never changes his mind." In this strain he continued for some time. "We have," said Cato, "a most humorous consul."<sup>1</sup> He did not however, retain any ill-feeling against him, but supported him against Cæsar, and was the first to salute him with the name of Father of his Country.

Cicero had hoped to unite in one party those whom he called honest men, that is to say, the wealthy, and the knights had rallied round him. The object of this party was to be the defence of the preponderating power of the senate, the preservation to the nobles of their privileges, and to the knights of the sources of their fortunes, in one word, the maintenance of the established order, without any desire of ameliorating and justifying this form of government. In order to preserve this union Cicero lent himself to anything, even to throwing a veil over the faults of the nobles. Cato alone boldly unmasked the guilty among the people as well as among the nobles; but everywhere too, he found a noble to stay his hand: Cicero saved Murena from him, and Catulus even resorted to violence in order to save an obscure government-clerk. Cato tried, nevertheless, to gain some popularity for his party by obtaining a decree from the senate for a distribution of corn to the poor, which cost the State 1,250 talents a year.<sup>2</sup>

To this measure the popular leaders replied, in spite of the opposition of the Fathers, by the suppression, in favour of the merchants, of the export and import dues throughout Italy,<sup>3</sup> and Cæsar was shortly to propose to part with the last remnants of the Public Domain in Campania for the benefit of the poor. Thus

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Cato Minor*, 21; 'Ὅς γελοῖον ὕπατον ἔχομεν. [See how splendidly Cicero himself, at the end of the third book *de Finibus*, draws in very similar words, but in serious earnest, the picture of the Stoic sage. (Cf. Mr. Reid's *Trans.*, p. 110.).—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, *ibid.*, 26. In his *Life of Cæsar* he only estimates this expenditure at 5,500,000 drachmæ or 917 talents.

<sup>3</sup> Proposed in 60 by the prætor Metellus Nepos. (Dion., xxxvii. 51.)

did each, even Cato in the interest of his party, augment the State expenditure and diminish the revenue, tactics which have not yet fallen into disuse. The measures of Metellus and Cicero would at least be an encouragement to commerce and agriculture, whereas Cato's frumentary law would increase the idle crowd in the Forum, which the vanquisher of the nobles was obliged to reduce during his dictatorship.

Catulus, the leader of the senate, had commenced the rebuilding of the Capitol, and had hastened to secure the honour, to which a Roman attached so much importance, of inscribing his name on the monument. From the first day of his praetorship Caesar proposed to entrust to Pompey the charge of finishing the new temple, which would give him the right to put his name in place of that of Catulus.

The matter was of little consequence, for it was only a question of vanity, but it showed the persistence of Caesar in his policy with respect to Pompey and the growing opposition between the *populares* and the nobles (*optimates*). The latter, on hearing of Caesar's proposition, hastened in such numbers to the Forum that the praetor, satisfied with having once more made his intentions clear, let the affair drop.<sup>2</sup>

Metellus went further; he demanded that the proconsul of Asia should be recalled with all his forces and charged with the re-establishment of order in the city. The *rogatio* appeared to threaten Catiline alone, who still held out; in reality it was directed against Cicero and the oligarchy; and Cato swore that as long as he lived the proposal should not pass.<sup>3</sup>

On the morning of the day when the tribes were to vote, Metellus caused the adjoining temple of Castor to be occupied by gladiators, and seated himself at the top of the steps by Caesar's side. Cato passed boldly through the armed crowd, and placed himself between the tribune and the praetor to prevent them holding communications. When the clerk began to read the text

<sup>1</sup> Terra-cotta from the Borgian Museum at Velletri. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 826 No. 2201.)

<sup>2</sup> Suet., *Caesar*, 15; Dion., xxxvii. 44. Catulus, having been entrusted with the rebuilding of the temple burnt down in the month of July, 83, had dedicated it in 69, although it was far from being finished, and he continued to superintend the reconstruction.

<sup>3</sup> Plut., *Cato Minor*, 26.

of the *rogatio* he prevented him ; when Metellus took the tablets he snatched them from him and broke them ; the tribune tried to repeat them from memory ; one of Cato's friends silenced him. The people clapped their hands, but at a sign from Metellus the gladiators drove away the crowd ; Cato, who would not draw back, was with great difficulty saved by Murena. After some time the nobles returned in force, and Metellus in his turn fled from the city to his patron's camp.

The senators, deceived as to their real strength by this fresh victory, and growing accustomed to revolutions, declared the tribune and Cæsar suspended from their functions.<sup>1</sup> Cæsar at first paid no heed to this decree, desiring to lead on the nobles to some violent measure, which would allow him to present himself before the people as a victim of the senate. When the nobles threatened to employ force if he did not obey, he sent away his lictors ; but the effect he had hoped for was already produced ; crowds hastened to him and offered to maintain him against everyone in the office which the people had conferred upon him, and the senate, in order to avoid putting this apparent abnegation too seriously to proof, cancelled its decree.

Some time afterwards Vettius, one of the spies whom Cicero had employed to discover the threads of the conspiracy, and who since that time had denunciations ready for all who would pay for them, cited Cæsar before the prætor, Novius Niger, as an accomplice of Catiline ; another man accused him in full senate of having been a party to the plot ; he knew it, he said, from Catiline himself. When this report spread through the city the people once more hastened to save their chief, and uttered threats around the curia. The accusation was hurriedly declared to be calumnious ; Cicero spoke against it, and Vettius, being delivered over to Cæsar, was almost torn in pieces by the angry crowd.<sup>2</sup> As for the quæstor, who had received in his court a summons against a prætor, his superior magistrate, Cæsar had him dragged to prison, to teach him to respect the gradations of official rank.

Cæsar had that gift of great politicians which makes even their rivals further their designs. He had made use of Pompey's

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Cæsar*, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Suet., *Cæsar*, 17 ; Dion., xxxvii. 41.

help in undoing the work of Sylla; he employed Crassus to reduce to ruins the work of Cicero, that second revival of the senatorial power. Crassus has, more than any other of Cæsar's contemporaries, been sacrificed to him; he has been made a ridiculous personage, a kind of dummy in that terrible game played by the other triumvirs. We often forget that as a general he might rank with Pompey and Lucullus, and that if his victories made less stir, they were more honourable, for they had twice saved the existence of Rome, once against the gladiators and once against Telesinus. While Pompey went over to the people, Crassus had remained faithful to the Cornelian constitution, and for seven years he was, with Catulus, the leader of the senate. His immense wealth, the spoils of the Civil war, gave him clients even in that assembly, and his slaves, of whom he might have formed an army, his freedmen, his debtors, and his tenants,—for he owned several districts in Rome,—rendered his support valuable in promoting or arresting a movement. The nobles made the mistake of alienating him from them, and they showed him who ought to be his ally, when they classed him and Cæsar together in vague suspicions of complicity with Catiline. In the senate no attention could be paid to any one but Cicero, Cato, and Lucullus,<sup>2</sup> and the impending return of the Pompeian legions. Against this oligarchy, which had now regained its confidences and haughtiness, and his old enemy, the præconsul of Asia, Crassus was forced to join the man whom the oligarchy also persecuted. Cæsar hastened to profit by his close connexion with the wealthy capitalist, but not at first for himself.

Clodius, a patrician of a petulant and ambitious nature, like all his race, and steeped, while still a youth, in debts and



*Bona Dea.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bronze statuette found in the neighbourhood of Naples; the Good Goddess, protectress of fruitful matrons, holds a child in swaddling bands, and bears in her left hand a sucking-pig, the victim which was usually sacrificed to the *Bona Dea*, as it was to Ceres and Proserpine. (Saglio, *Dict. des Antig.*, fig. 868, p. 726.)

<sup>2</sup> Sallust asserts that he had often heard Crassus complain bitterly of Cicero. Velleius Paterculus pays a tribute to the manners of Crassus: *vir cetera sanctissimus immunisque voluptatibus*. (ii. 46.)



vices,<sup>1</sup> had gained an entrance into Cæsar's house in woman's dress during the celebration of the mysteries of the *Bona Dea*, which had never been profaned by the gaze of a man. Scarcely had he entered when he was discovered; the pious women cried out, and



Roman Pontiff.<sup>2</sup>

the pontiffs caused the desecrated mysteries to be begun over again. By his relations with the popular party, Clodius had separated himself from the nobles, and they seized this opportunity of ruining their new enemy, and embarrassing Cæsar, whose wife he had compromised; they had an accusation of sacrilege brought against him. Cicero and the quiet members of his party hesitated, but Cato insisted, and the matrons, who considered themselves insulted, piously set the whole town in a ferment. Cæsar's conduct was especially observed. He surprised every one. In order to

reconcile his honour and his interests, he repudiated his wife; not that she was guilty, but because Cæsar's wife, said he, must be above suspicion, and he saved Clodius by getting Crassus to lend him the money with which to bribe his judges. Cicero, urged on

<sup>1</sup> We have seen (vol. ii. p. 820) how he behaved in the army of Lucullus, his brother-in-law. For the following years, see his biography in Cicero (*de Har. resp.*, 20), who naturally paints him in the blackest colours.

<sup>2</sup> *Museo Pio-Clementino* vol. iii. pl. 19.

by his wife Terentia, who interfered in everything, and who was at that time desirous of engaging him in a quarrel with the Clodii, ruined by his evidence Clodius' plea of *alibi*, a step for which he afterwards cruelly suffered. The senate thought the suit was won; they had at the judges' own request provided them with a guard, and confided to the magistrates the duty of watching over their safety; but in the urn there were found thirty-one acquitting votes against twenty-five condemnatory. "It was to keep your money, then," said Catulus to one of the judges, "that you asked us for a guard." "You know that bald-pate (Crassus)," writes Cicero; "it was he who arranged it all. He promised, guaranteed, made presents; bands of his slaves invaded the Forum, and the honest folk retreated in a body."<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, the tribunal which pronounced the acquittal was in his eyes only "a house of ill-resort which had never held such a set of rascals—dishonoured senators, tattered knights, and tribunes of the treasury as rich in debts as they were poor in cash."

Cæsar, who had just repudiated his wife on the shadow of a suspicion, allowed himself a great deal of license, but he made pleasure subservient to politics. It is not by mere chance that we find his mistresses in those houses where they could best help his designs: Tertulla, the wife of Crassus; Mucia, the wife of Pompey; Postumia, the wife of Sulpicius, whom she brought into friendship with Cæsar; there were many others besides, and, above all, Servilia, sister of Cato and mother of Brutus, the tyrannicide. The last-mentioned, who was a widow, entertained a strong and lasting affection for him, but unfortunately she had not the same influence over her brother and son as Postumia had over her husband. The women then, took part in politics; this was a new state of things, which has been noticed previously, and which, with many other symptoms, marks the close of the old order of society, wherein a woman was never spoken of but to say of her, "she stays at home and spins wool."

The check sustained by the nobles in the trial of Clodius was a severe one, for it must be measured by the importance attached to the affair by both parties, and to this must be added the effects

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Att.*, i. 16.

it produced. In the senate it was asserted that the judges had been bribed, and an inquiry was opened. The equestrian order was hurt at this, seeing in it an attempt to drive their members from their courts, and the irritation was increased when, some time afterwards, Crassus stirred up the *publicani* to demand a reduction in the price of the farms in Asia, which the Fathers refused. Being already dissatisfied at the disgrace inflicted on the judges of Clodius, the knights haughtily separated themselves from the senate, and the union of the orders—Cicero's pet project, was gone.

Before the conclusion of the trial of Clodius, Cæsar had set out for his government in Further Spain. He left Crassus engaged with Clodius and in open rupture with the oligarchy; he had attached the opulent *consularis* to himself by getting him to go surety for him to his creditors for the sum of 850 talents (£200,000), and the knights looked with complacency on these men who defended their interest and their honour. At length the proconsul of Asia arrived. He was coming, it was said, at the head of his legions to make an end of the Republic. But Pompey had neither the ambition nor the daring for this; not knowing what to put in the place of the present government, he only intended taking his seat at the head of it, and for this he did not at the time think he should need soldiers; his glory would suffice; the moment he landed at Brindisi he dismissed his army.

This proceeding completely blinded the nobles; they imagined



Pompey,  
Vanquisher of the  
Pirates.<sup>1</sup>

themselves masters of the situation, and when Pompey demanded that the consular comitia should be delayed in order that he might solicit votes in favour of one of his friends, Cato caused the refusal of the permission. Some time previously (63 B.C.) the senate had granted Lucullus the triumph which he had for three years solicited in vain; they had also lately authorized that of Metellus Creticus; it was as much as to say to the people, "These are the true conquerors of Mithridates and the pirates."<sup>2</sup> Pompey was deeply

<sup>1</sup> CN. MAGNVS IMP. Pompey on disembarking receives a palm from the hands of Victory. Reverse of a silver coin of the Podician family.

<sup>2</sup> Pompey only arrived in Rome at the close of the year 62 B.C. (Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.*, iii. 181.)





Triumphant General (Painting at Pompeii).





wounded at this. Nevertheless, in his first address to the people<sup>1</sup> he spoke without anger and with great consideration for all parties, and he even tried to win over Cato. This moderation, at a time when the Forum was accustomed to violent speech, failed in its effect, and no one took seriously the claim to play the arbitrator among parties, which he seemed to advance. Towards the end of September he celebrated his triumph. Did the senate not wish to grant more than two days? Certainly the ceremony lasted no longer, and enough objects remained to deck another triumph. There were carried in procession the jewels and engraved gems of Mithridates, his statue in silver, his throne and sceptre, thirty crowns of pearls, three golden statues of Minerva, Mars, and Apollo, the golden bed of Darius, son of Hystaspes, then the tables on which it was written that Pompey



Victory (from the Vatican).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Prima concio Pompeii . . . non jucunda miseris, inanis improbis, beatis non grata, bonis non gravis; itaque frigebat.* (Cic., *ad Att.*, i. 14.)

<sup>2</sup> Statue in Grecian marble, with its back against a trophy, which must have served as a pilaster. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 636, No. 1442.) The engraving on p. 45 is taken from Roux (*Hercul. et Pompéi*, vol. iii., 2nd Series, pl. 120), and represents a triumphant general crowned by Victory and seated upon a pile of arms. In the painting he is clothed in a blue tunic held up by a golden girdle; on his shoulders is a purple mantle; his red shoes are edged with gold and ornamented with fur.

had subjugated 12,000,000 of men, taken 800 vessels, 1,000 fortresses and 300 towns, founded or repeopled thirty-nine cities, poured into the treasury 20,000 talents, and almost doubled the public revenue.<sup>1</sup> Medals struck in his name showed the globe encircled with laurel, and above it the golden crown decreed to the conqueror of Africa, Spain, and Asia. He had distributed to each of his legionaries 6,000 sesterces.<sup>2</sup> The soldiers of the Republic are already the mercenaries of the empire.

But on descending from his chariot, in which he had appeared in the costume of Alexander, Pompey found himself alone in the city which a few moments before had been filled with his glory. Lucullus attacked him; the senate was hostile to him; Cato asserted that he had had only women to fight against; even Cicero found that his hero of former days lacked dignity and elevation.<sup>3</sup> Of the two consuls, one, Metellus Celer, was his enemy; the other, Afranius, whose election to office he had paid for, was, Cicero says, a very nonentity, not knowing even the value of the place he had bought.<sup>4</sup> Pompey soon put his influence to the test. In the East he had disposed of crowns, made and unmade kingdoms, and founded cities, in short, ruled everything with sovereign sway from the Ægean Sea to the Caucasus, and from the Hellespont to the Red Sea. The confirmation of all his acts was a point of honour with him; he demanded of the senate a prompt and general approval. Lucullus, supported by Cato, proposed to deliberate upon each fact separately. This lengthy discussion, in which many checks were inevitable, would have been singularly humiliating to the man who in Asia had lately played the part of a king of kings; he rejected it. At the same time he asked the people, through the tribune Flavius, for lands for his veterans. In the Forum as in the curia he met Cato and the consul Metellus. Things came to

<sup>1</sup> Eighty-five millions of drachmæ instead of 50,000,000, or about £3,000,000 sterling instead of £1,860,000. (Plut., *Pompey*, 47.) The triumph was celebrated on the 28th and the 29th of September, 61 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 6. After the deliverance of Modena, in 43 B.C., the senate promised 10,000, and the triumvirs gave them. The gratuities under the empire did not usually amount to so much. As for the medal representing a globe wreathed with laurels, no specimen of it is known, and it was not the custom of the Roman monetary triumvirs to strike such types.

<sup>3</sup> *Nihil habet amplum, excelsum, nihil non summissum atque popolare.* (*ad Att.*, i. 20.)

<sup>4</sup> The money paid for his appointment had been distributed in the very gardens of Pompey, and the senate ordered an inquiry. (Cic., *ad Att.*, i. 16.)

such a pitch that Flavius had the consul dragged to prison; the whole senate wished to follow him thither. But the tribune's patron was ashamed of this violence; he yielded a second time, with his heart deeply embittered against the nobles, who were dishonouring him in the eyes of his soldiers and of all Asia.

Then, according to one historian,<sup>1</sup> he repented having dismissed his troops; but it was too late. Repulsed by the nobles, it only remained to him to take up once more the part of demagogue, for which he was so little fitted. But on the people's side the first place was already occupied; he must be content to share it with Cæsar who had anticipated him there.

<sup>1</sup> Dion, xxxvii. 50.



Winged Victory crowning a Warrior.



## CHAPTER LII.

### THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE AND THE CONSULSHIP OF CÆSAR.

#### I.—FORMATION OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE (60 B.C.).

DURING the events recorded at the close of the last chapter, Cæsar was in the heart of Spain, in Hispania Ulterior, which had fallen to him by lot after his prætorship (61 B.C.). As a gift upon his arrival he had brought the Spaniards the remission of the taxes which Metellus Pius had imposed upon them, and he had distinguished himself in civil matters by an arrangement of debts<sup>1</sup> and the pacification of Gades, to which he gave better laws; in



Cæsar.<sup>2</sup>

military affairs by expeditions against the Lusitanians of the mountains and the Gallæci, whence he returned with the title of *imperator* (June, 60 B.C.). He forthwith solicited a triumph and the consulship. These two demands were irreconcilable. To obtain the one he would have to keep the *imperium*, his lictors, and the military costume, that is to say, he must not enter Rome, for at the city gates this power and magnificence ceased, and to canvass the other he must come in person three *mundine* before the election, give in his name to the president of the comitia, and solicit votes in the Forum. Many a time had the

<sup>1</sup> The creditors, who were for the most part Roman citizens, obtained payment by a compulsory attachment of their debtors' property. Cæsar only granted them two-thirds of the income till the debt should be cancelled. (Plut., *Cæsar*; Cic., *pro Balbo*, 19.)

<sup>2</sup> Laurelled-crowned head. We do not know whether Cæsar was authorized by the senate to put his portrait on the coin, or whether he assumed the right himself. In any case, since upon the pieces of money bearing the inscription COS TERT. DICT. ITER. of the year 46, and DIC TER of the year 45, his head does not yet appear, and that with DICT QVART of the year 44 it does not always appear, we are led to the conclusion that it was during the year 44 B.C. that Cæsar obtained or arrogated to himself this right, which has since remained a monarchical privilege.

senate allowed generals to omit these prescribed formalities, but at the instance of Cato they now refused to do so.<sup>1</sup>

Between an affair of vanity and a question of power Cæsar quickly made his choice; he gave up the triumph, sent away his lictors, and hastened to the Forum with the white robe of a candidate; Crassus and Pompey accompanied him and canvassed for him. How had this triple alliance been formed?

The crushing of Catiline, the disarming and humiliation of Pompey, the double defeat of the people and their tribunes, the exile of Cæsar 400 leagues away from Rome—such successes had inspired the oligarchy with that confidence which, to their final destruction, endues exhausted parties with a momentary energy. Cicero had already ceased to be their favourite leader. The senate preferred Cato's blind zeal to the reserve and circumspection of the cautious consular. But Cato, by his respect for ancient and obsolete laws, gained nothing and spoiled everything. "With the best intentions," wrote Cicero to Atticus, "our Cato spoils everything; he enunciates opinions like those of Plato's Republic, and we are the dregs of Romulus."<sup>2</sup> He it was who had driven Metellus Nepos from Rome, stirred up the accusation against Clodius, and made the senate refuse Pompey everything. After the election of Afranius, whose election Pompey had paid for, he had obtained a decree that all who took any part in such bargains should be declared public enemies, and he had energetically supported a new law of the tribune Lurco against canvassing. After the trial of Clodius, and against the advice of Cicero, who was anxious that the equestrian order should be humoured at any price, Cato had brought about an enquiry into the conduct of judges. When the farmers of the taxes in Asia had demanded the cancelling of their agreements, Cato, in spite of Cicero, obliged them to hold to their former contracts.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, in the debates raised by the agrarian law of Pompey, the *publicani* had refused their support to the senate.

This time too, the oligarchy had conquered, but it was only

<sup>1</sup> At least Cato, in order that nothing might be decided upon, spoke till sunset, and obliged the meeting to disperse. (Suet., *Cæsar*, i. 8; Dion., xxxvii. 54; Plat., *Cæsar and Cato*.) Ten years previously the senate had granted to Pompey what it now refused to Cæsar.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *ad Att.*, ii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Cato qui miseris publicanos . . . tertium jam mensem revat.* (Cicero, *ad Att.*, i. 18.)

due to the moderation of their foe. Accordingly, while the nobles congratulated themselves on having overcome everything, Cicero saw the storm gathering. "Among all those men," said he, "there is not the shadow of a politician,"<sup>1</sup> and he prudently pulled up, he reefed his sails,<sup>2</sup> and prepared the way for a return to Pompey's side by supporting the agrarian law of Flavius with reasons which contradicted his speech on that of Rullus.<sup>3</sup> It was a fresh recantation. "But," wrote he, "since the acquittal of Clodius I know what dependence can be placed upon justice; I have seen, too, the *publicani* estranged from the senate, and how our momentary victors, those great lovers of fish-ponds, no longer conceal the envy they cherish against me.<sup>4</sup> Then I sought some more solid support." And Pompey had welcomed him; Pompey, whom he describes above, solemnly draped in his triumphal robe, had at length spoken of and praised the famous consulship. Then he begins to scout his former friends, Lucullus, Hortensius, and all those great personages "who imagine themselves in heaven, when they have in their fish-ponds old barbel trained to come and eat out of their hands."

Unless the orator overdraws his portraits in order to excuse his defection, such men were not very formidable, and the zeal and activity of the intractable Cato only increased the illusion as to their real strength. Quite recently a *senatus-consultum* had failed to become law, and Cicero had seized the opportunity to exclaim, "Of the two things which my consulship had established, the union of the orders and the authority of the senate, one is gone, and every day helps to shatter the other."<sup>5</sup> Thus Cæsar returned opportunely from his province; the senate was at once feeble and threatening, Pompey was exasperated, Cicero discontented, and Crassus in full opposition.

Since the day when Cæsar had dared to brave the all-powerful Sylla, he had said nothing and done nothing which was not in

<sup>1</sup> Πολιτικός ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ὄναρ *quisquam inveniri potest.* (*ad Att.*, i. 18.) And elsewhere: *Nihil ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς honestum, nihil illustre, nihil forte, nihil liberum.* (*Ibid.*, 13.)

<sup>2</sup> *Contraxi vela.* (*Ibid.*, i. 16.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ad Att.*, i. 19.

<sup>4</sup> In their eyes Cicero was never anything more than an upstart. See in his letters with what haughtiness Appian, his predecessor in the government of Cilicia, treated him.

<sup>5</sup> *Ad Att.*, i. 18.

keeping with this first act of his life. The replacing of the trophies of Marius on the Capitol, the dragging of the dictator's *sicarii* to justice, the recall of the proscribed, the prosecution of extortioners, the restoration to the tribuneship of its rights, and the revival of hope in the people by the proposal of agrarian laws, all these things showed his fidelity to the opinions of his youth and his party, and had doubled the power afforded him by his eloquence as an orator, his attractions as a man, and the splendour of his birth. He therefore, held a position at Rome which enabled him to treat as an equal with the most powerful rivals. His first care was to reconcile his old friend and his new, Pompey and Crassus; to the one he promised to obtain for him from the people what he had failed to get from the senate; to the other to dismiss to their villas those leaders of the oligarchy who had relegated him to the second rank, and to restore to him that influence in the State which was due to his services.<sup>1</sup> All three undertook to have their credit and their resources in common, to speak and act in all matters only in conformity with the interests of the association. The military glory of Pompey, the wealth of Crassus, and the popularity of Cæsar contributed to make this three-headed monster, as the triumvirate was called, a power which ruled the people, the senate, and the whole government.<sup>2</sup> But each of the three triumvirs retained his own special schemes. Pompey saw in the union only a combination of influences, by which he must certainly be raised without any disturbance or revolution to the first place. Crassus foresaw the rivalry between his colleagues and the facilities it would afford him for raising himself above them by making his support necessary to each. Cæsar too, thought of presently claiming that highest place which all three desired, but he wished first, by the united force of the triumvirate, to overthrow the aristocracy, which was a party, thinking that he would afterwards be easily able to deal with Pompey and Crassus, who were only individuals. Then as master of the Republic he would undertake the reforms of which his great

<sup>1</sup> *Crassus, ut quem principatum solus adsequi non poterat . . . , viribus teneret Cæsar.* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 44.)

<sup>2</sup> *Τρικάραρος.* (App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 9.) [This title was originally given to a scurrilous libel on Theopompus by Anaximenes of Lampsacus. (Cf. Mahaffy's *Hist. of Greek Literature* ii. 248.)—*Ed.*]



mind saw the necessity, and which he commenced from the time of his first accession to the consulship (60 B.C.).

His two associates had undertaken to support his candidature. The nobles did all in their power to defeat it. They clubbed together to buy up the votes; even Cato thought that for this once the end justified the means, and furnished his share. When they saw that their efforts would be useless, they took their revenge in advance for the election which they could not avoid, by assigning as consular provinces nothing but the care of woods and pasture-lands.<sup>1</sup> They hoped thus to shackle the future consul at the expiration of his consulship. But it was only an imprudent and useless measure, which enabled Cæsar to ask the people for reparation for the insult offered to the people's choice. Cæsar was elected, but the nobles succeeded in giving him as a colleague Bibulus, who had long been his enemy.

## II.—CÆSAR'S CONSULSHIP (59 B.C.).

The new consul's first words however, were conciliatory; he promised the senate to propose nothing against its prerogatives; he tried to effect a reconciliation with Bibulus, and he asked Cicero's advice. On taking possession of his dignity he ordained that the daily record of all the acts of the senate should be regularly kept and published, in order to check secret intrigues by submitting the government to the control of public opinion.<sup>2</sup> A few days later he read the following law to the senate;<sup>3</sup> "In order to restore agriculture and re-people the solitudes of Italy, the lands of the Public Domain shall be distributed among the poor. Those in Campania, where 20,000 colonists shall be established, are to be

<sup>1</sup> . . . *Provinciæ minimi negotii, id est silvæ callesque.* (Suet., *Cæsar*, 19.) These absurd provinces, however, suggest the idea that the Romans already concerned themselves about the preservation of forests.

<sup>2</sup> Suet., *Cæsar*, 20. See Leclerc, *Des Journaux chez les Romains*.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, who had supported, with modifications, the law of Flavius, which was not so well put together, and by which, said he, it was possible for *sentina urbis exhauriri et Italiæ solitudo frequentari* (*ad Att.*, i. 19), offers but poor reasons against Cæsar's proposal. (*ad Att.*, ii. 16.) According to him the treasury would be ruined; *portoriis Italiæ sublati, agro Campano diviso, quod vectigal superest domesticum, præter vicesimum*, but he forgot the tributes of the provinces, which Cæsar's law did not touch. He forgot too, that the expenditure for the distributions of wheat to the people would be diminished if the famished masses at Rome became less numerous.

given to citizens who have at least three children, and a rent shall be paid to the treasury for these concessions. If the public lands do not suffice, the money brought home by Pompey shall be employed to purchase private domains with the proprietors' consent at the price with which they were marked on the registers at the last census. Twenty commissioners shall direct the execution of this law." There was nothing to object to in this proposal,



Remains of Cicero's Villa at Tusculum <sup>1</sup> (p. 58).

the wisdom and opportuneness of which recalled the first law of Tiberius Gracchus, with this difference, that Cæsar declared he did not desire to be among the commissioners. In the time of the Gracchi the aristocracy was all-powerful; it crushed both the law and the tribune. Now it was from the consulship, as in the days of Spurius Cassius, that the blow came, and the nobility had only Cato to defend them, for Cicero remained at his villas, that he might not be obliged to praise in Cæsar what he had blamed in

<sup>1</sup> From a print in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

Rullus; fearing to speak, fearing to keep silent, he had fled far from the field of battle. "It is not the law I dread," said Cato, "but the price the people will have to pay for it," and he spoke so violently that Cæsar, giving way to impatience, had him seized and dragged to prison, the door of which was not shut upon him. Then the consul dismissed the Fathers, saying, "I had made you the judges and supreme arbiters of this law, in order that if any of its provisions displeased you, it might not be brought before the people till it had been discussed by you; but since you were not willing to proceed to a preliminary deliberation, the people alone shall decide." It was a return to the *Hortensian Law*, which the Cornelian legislation had suppressed.<sup>1</sup> Driven by this refusal of co-operation to bring everything before the popular assembly, he rarely summoned the senate.<sup>2</sup> The comitia, it is true, represented the national sovereignty, of which the senate was but the high council; but to make the comitia everything was to change the whole balance of government. Hitherto it had been in the curia; Cæsar removed it to the Forum. And yet it was scarcely twenty years since Sylla had deprived the tribes of their legislative power!

On the day that he brought his law before the people, the old scene between Tiberius and Octavius began again, but Cæsar carefully avoided the excess which had ruined the son of Cornelia. For a long time he begged his colleague not to oppose this act of justice, and in order to make the nobles detested, he prevailed upon the people to add their entreaties to his own. "If you should all clamour for this law you should not have it," said Bibulus. Then Cæsar, turning towards Pompey and Crassus, asked them what they thought of the proposal. Both praised it highly. "But in case it is rejected by force, what will you do?" said he to Pompey. "If it is attacked with the sword, I will defend it with sword and buckler."<sup>3</sup> On hearing him speak thus, the nobles understood why it was they had seen the town filling with Pompeian veterans.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dion, xxxviii. 3. For the *Hortensian Law*, see vol. i. p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> Appian and Dion are wrong in affirming that he ceased to assemble the senate, for he called them together several times, among other things, to make them swear to observe his law, and to declare Ptolemy and Ariovistus friends of the Roman people, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Dion., xxxviii. 45; Plut., *Cæsar*, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Plut., *Pompey*, 49.



Bibulus, a man of narrow and stubborn mind, resisted to the last. On the election day, in spite of the threatening aspect of the Forum, which was filled with armed men, he came with Cato and Lucullus, and took his place near his colleague to declare that he "was observing the heavens," and that consequently all business must be suspended. But as soon as he attempted to speak he was set upon, precipitated from the top of the steps of the temple of Castor, and forced to seek shelter in a neighbouring house. Lucullus too, nearly perished. Two tribunes were wounded; Cato was twice driven from the platform. The law passed, and a plebiscitum compelled the senators, magistrates, and all who should in future canvass an office to swear to observe it literally. Men remembered Metellus, and everyone took the oath, even Cato; one man only, Laterensis, chose rather to give up his candidature for the tribuneship. "He is highly appreciated," writes Cicero, who praises, but did not imitate him.<sup>1</sup>

This agrarian law was the first which had succeeded in passing for the last sixty years. Cæsar, already heir of the popularity of Marius, was now to succeed to that of the Gracchi also. And yet the two other triumvirs had no right to take alarm, for he appeared to act only in the common interest. When he diminished by one-third the price of the taxing contracts in Asia, where the *publicani* had lost greatly during the war against Mithridates, it was, he said, to reconcile to the triumvirs the whole equestrian order,<sup>2</sup> now that the people were already won over. When he obtained the confirmation of Pompey's acts in the East,<sup>3</sup> it was the pledge given by his colleague to the kings and peoples of Asia that he redeemed, as he had just fulfilled by the agrarian law Pompey's promises to his veterans. And finally, when he sold the alliance of Rome to Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, for 6,000

<sup>1</sup> Dion., xxxviii. 7; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 12; Cic., *ad Att.*, ii. 18. I do not speak of the pretended plot against Pompey's life which Vettius denounced, and in which he implicated several important persons. It was doubtless an attempt to extort money, which was disposed of by strangling Vettius in prison. Dion (xxxviii. 9) does not hesitate to say that he had been paid by Cicero and Lucullus to kill Cæsar and Pompey; but Dion is fond of tragic stories, and changes doubt into certainty with great facility. Appian (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 12) does not believe it.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *ad Att.*, ii. 16; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Lucullus attempted to offer opposition, but he was threatened with an accusation on the subject of his immense property, and he became silent. (Dion., xxxviii. 7; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 13; Plut., *Pompey*, 13.)



talents,<sup>1</sup> it was again in order that that prince might owe his crown to the triumvirate. He was only faithfully carrying out the treaty of alliance, but he that gives is much better remembered than he that promises, and Cæsar, accomplishing what his colleague had not been able to do, reaped gratitude, or at least raised himself in public opinion. Pompey was under obligations to him. He even consented to become Cæsar's son-in-law. This marriage added the bonds of relationship to those of politics; but in the family, as in the State, Pompey accepted the inferior place.<sup>2</sup> He did not perceive it, for he could not suppose that anyone would presume to claim equality with him,<sup>3</sup> and Cæsar avoided dispelling the idea. It was the custom that at the meetings of the senate he whose opinion the consul had first asked should retain this privilege throughout the year. Cæsar had first paid this honour to Crassus, but after Julia's marriage he entrusted Pompey with the opening of the debate, a trifle which suited the vanity of a man who desired to have the pre-eminence in everything.

Two laws of Cæsar's consulship, *de Provinciis ordinandis* and *de Pecuniis repetundis*, which supplemented one another, remained the basis of legislation until the last days of the Empire.<sup>4</sup> Their object was the good administration of the provinces by the repression of extortion. Like all young nobles, he had made his first appearance in the Forum as the accuser of guilty governors, but he always remained faithful to the patronage of provincials, which others forgot as soon as they attained office. He had seen that the time was come for rising above the narrow prejudices of the city, and that Rome had other duties to the world than everlasting pillage.

The second of these laws had more than a hundred chapters,<sup>5</sup> and it differed from similar earlier laws by greater detail and stringency.<sup>6</sup> It applied to all sorts of bribery at home or abroad.

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, *Bell. civ.*, iii. 107; Suet., *Cæsar*, 54; Dion., xxxix. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Julia was only twenty-three years of age and Pompey was forty-eight. At the same time Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of L. Piso. (Suet., *Cæsar*, 21; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 11.)

<sup>3</sup> . . . *Et quod neminem secum dignitate exæquari volebat.* (Cæsar, *Bell. civ.*, i. 4.) *Neque . . . quemquam æquo animo parem tulit.* (Vell. Paterc., i. 33.)

<sup>4</sup> *Digest*, xlviii., the whole of section ii.; *id.*, *ibid.*, L. 5, 3; and *Code*, book ix. section xxvii.)

<sup>5</sup> Cælius (Cic., *ad Fam.*, viii. 8) cites Article 101 of it.

<sup>6</sup> *Calpurnia* (149), *Junia* (126?), *Acilia* (101?), *Servilia* (100), *Cornelia* (81).

Accordingly, Cicero calls it "a law as wise as it is just, by which free nations at length truly enjoyed their liberty."<sup>1</sup> It regulated the expenditure of cities for the proconsul, his legates, and his quæstor, and it forbade all voluntary gifts.<sup>2</sup> It increased the penalty against extortioners, who were declared incapable of sitting in the senate or of appearing in court as accusers or witnesses.<sup>3</sup> In order that proof against them might be easy, governors were obliged to leave a copy of their accounts in two of the most important towns of their provinces, and to deposit a third in the public treasury at Rome.<sup>4</sup> When an extortioner was prosecuted he had been able to save his property by going into exile before the trial, and so put an end to the case. The *Julian Law* decreed that even in this case the property should be seized, even if it were already in the hands of the heirs, and be applied to compensate the injured parties. If it did not suffice, those who had profited by the abuse were condemned to complete the restitution. Finally it decreed that a governor should only remain two years in the consular and one year in the prætorian provinces. Sylla had not allowed knights or plebeians to challenge more than three judges in their suits. The tribune Vatinius, one of Cæsar's friends, obtained by his law an equal right of challenge to accused and accuser, whatever their condition might be.

Lands for the poor of Rome, justice for the provinces, severity for the twofold evil which was sapping the Republic—venality and extortion—such were the principal acts of Cæsar during his magistracy.

What were the nobles doing during this consulship, so full of wise reforms? Cato was protesting in favour of abuses of which he took no advantage; Favonius imitated his complaints and even his gestures, and was the last to swear to observe the agrarian

<sup>1</sup> In *Pison.*, 16, and *pro Sertio*, 64.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *ad Att.*, v. 10, 16, 21; in *Pison.*, 37. Cæsar also occupied himself with the *liberæ legationes*, one of the most crying abuses, but we do not know in what particular he modified preceding regulations on the point. (Cic., *ad Att.*, xv. 11; Cf. Dion., xliii. 25; Cic., *Phil.*, i. 8; in *Pison.*, 86.)

<sup>3</sup> Suet., *Cæsar*, 43; Tac., *Hist.*, i. 77.

<sup>4</sup> Cic., *ad Att.*, vi. 7; *ad Fam.*, ii. 17; v. 20. Gabinius, one of the most severe proconsuls towards his subjects, had already, in 71 B.C., carried that all the sittings of the senate during the month of February should be devoted to the examination of complaints brought to Rome by deputies from the provinces. (Cic., *ad Quintum*, ii. 13.)

law. Lucullus had joined in the opposition to the consul, but a few words from Cæsar upon his immense wealth which, as spoil of war, belonged to the State, sent him back into silence. Hortensius had quitted politics and devoted himself to the care of his lampreys. Cicero, who had been led away for a time by Pompey's advances and Cæsar's smiles,<sup>1</sup> had soon retraced his steps. He was anxious to return to literature, to flee "to his paternal mountains and the cradle of his infancy."<sup>2</sup> "Where shall we live?" he exclaimed, and he invited Atticus to come and philosophize with him "under the shadow of Aristotle's statue." But he could not stay quiet; he travelled from Formiæ to Antium, from Antium to Tusculum, restless, nervous, eager for news, circling round Rome without daring to enter it, and trying by partial overtures, by cautious confidences, to get the augurship offered to him, in order to furnish himself with a pretext for reappearing on the scene. It is the sad spectacle of a noble mind unable, when its hour is past, to give up either power or the applause of the multitude.<sup>3</sup>

As for the senate, it seemed no longer to exist, for one of the consuls summoned it but rarely, and the other had forbidden it to assemble by the proclamation of a *justitium*. Bibulus, in order to taint the acts of his colleague with illegality, had declared all the days of his consulship to be *feriæ*. But religion was a worn-out weapon, and this opposition in the name of long-lost beliefs only caused a smile; the wits named this year the consulship of Julius and of Cæsar.

In default of a serious war, they waged a war of epigrams against him. Bibulus, shut up in his house, launched against his colleague edicts "in the style of Archilochus," in which the accusation of having been the minion of Nicomedes and the accomplice of Catiline were among the least insults.<sup>4</sup> The nobles

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cic., *ad Att.*, i. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Att.*, ii. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Dion., xxxviii. 8; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 13; Suet., *Cæsar*, 20. I do not, in 1880, strike out this phrase which I wrote in 1843, and which is true for certain men. I content myself with adding that Cicero could, better than any man, find in his rare literary faculties the means of forgetting the attractions or disappointments of political life by fixing his gaze on things both higher and more remote.

<sup>4</sup> Suet., *Cæsar*, 49; Cic., *ad Att.*, ii. 19, 20, 21, and 22. Cicero did not talk openly of these calumnies, but he propagated them quietly in his private letters. At Rome indeed, men readily

extolled their champion to the skies; but Cicero, jealous of the stir made about an inactive consul, maliciously remarked that this was a new method of attaining glory. As for Cæsar, he left his foes this last consolation of the vanquished. Pompey played his part less easily; on the 25th of July he ascended the rostra to speak against the edicts of Bibulus. "How humble and downeast he was," writes Cicero, "how well one could see that he was no better satisfied with himself than were those who listened to him!" And with a naïve pride the orator adds; "I was tormented with fear lest Pompey's services should appear to posterity greater than my own. That anxiety is gone; he has fallen so low!"<sup>1</sup>

Cæsar's laws were excellent. By refusing to co-operate with him and to associate themselves with his plans the oligarchy had committed the last capital mistake which precedes and causes great catastrophes. Cæsar then desired reforms, not a revolution, and his reforms might perhaps have saved the Republic. Ten years afterwards it was too late. The nobles counted upon their idle *senatus-consultum* concerning the province set apart for the popular consul for getting rid of him quickly. But the people, whose affection he had retained<sup>2</sup> by an uninterrupted succession of games, spectacles, and largesses,<sup>3</sup> did for him what they had already done for Marius, Lucullus, and Pompey. On the proposal of the tribune Vatinius, they replied to the derisive *senatus-consultum* respecting the proconsular provinces by bestowing upon him, by the Vatinian *plebiscitum*, the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria for

cast in their enemies' teeth the accusation of being publicly and gratuitously immoral. Suetonius, who collected all these tales, says that Cæsar stole 3,000 lbs. of gold from the Capitol and replaced them with gilded copper. But we possess a proof of the falseness of this accusation; Cicero does not mention it, and he would not have failed to do so frequently, if the thing, incredible in itself, had really taken place.

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *ibid.*, ii. 21.

<sup>2</sup> The "unpopularity of popular men," as Cicero calls it, has been too easily credited; it was Curio and the young nobles, not the people, who launched forth the sarcasms of which Cicero speaks, and the latter is even driven to confess that there was much more spite than force in it all; *Magis odio quam præsidio.* (*ad Att.*, ii. 19.) It must be noticed too, that it was Pompey, not Cæsar, who was scoffed at and insulted.

<sup>3</sup> *Σκοπὸς ἐστὶν, ὡς suspicor, ἰλλῖς οὗς τενεὶν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἀποδοτικὸν ἀποδοῦναι.* (Cic., *ad Att.*, ii. 18.) Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 20) says almost the same, and they both talk nonsense, for Crassus, Lucullus, and Pompey had given many [games and largesses] like them; it was an obligation on men of power to do so, and nothing particularly out of the way has been remarked in these festivals of Cæsar's consulship.



years, with three legions.<sup>1</sup> This law was most skilfully put together in the interests of Cæsar, for it gave him, in addition to a considerable army, a province of which he had constituted himself patron,<sup>2</sup> and which, being in proximity to Rome, daily received the news of the Forum and the curia; but it was also most useful to the Republic, which was threatened by a formidable war on the



Theatrical Token (Tessera).



Theatrical Token (Tessera).<sup>3</sup>

other side of the Alps. Cato paid no heed to this danger. In his great Republican fervour and his hatred against Cæsar, he had exclaimed; "It is tyranny you are arming, and you are placing it in a fort above your heads." But the senatorial majority, more patriotic in the face of the State's peril than the oligarchic faction, at Pompey's solicitation added to the popular gift a fourth legion and a third province, Gallia Narbonensis, which was at that time in great danger.

These prolonged commands were in accordance with the spirit of the Roman constitution; the proconsulship had only been called into existence three centuries before with the object of securing for a consul the time to complete his military operations. Metellus, Lucullus, and Pompey had recently held it longer than the period granted to Cæsar, and the people and senate were quite right in resorting to a precaution customary in times of danger. The

<sup>1</sup> Pompey's veterans had come to vote for this *Vatinian Law*. (Suet., *Cæsar*, 22.) Pompey himself insisted on having Transalpine Gaul given to Cæsar (Cic., *ad Att.*, viii. 3); *Ille Gallie ulterioris adjunctor*. With Cæsar gone he thought he would be left master.

<sup>2</sup> He had just sent thither with the title of citizens 5,000 colonists, who established themselves at Como. (Strabo, V. i. 6; Suet., *Cæsar*, 28.) The southern boundaries of Cisalpine Gaul passed to the south of Lucca and Ravenna. Ariminum, a short distance from the Rubicon, was only 1,350 stadia from Rome, and Lucca scarcely further.

<sup>3</sup> The theatrical *tesserae* were tokens answering to our tickets. Those here given are of ivory and artistically worked; the one represents an amphitheatre with its *vomitoria*, and in the middle a *pegma*, a kind of tower on which combatants were placed. The inscription on the reverse denotes the place assigned to the bearer of the *tessera* (IA, eleventh hemicycle). The place assigned by the other ticket, AIOX, denotes perhaps, the last place (*αἰσχροῦ* or *αἰσχιστον*), the one furthest removed from the places of honour, and reserved for the lowest class and slaves. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii., 2nd Series, pl. 134.) [This interpretation is most improbable.—*Ed.*]

Allobroges, who had not been rewarded at all to their liking for the conduct of their ambassadors in Catiline's conspiracy, had just ravaged Gallia Narbonensis. This rising had caused little uneasiness, but the Germanic invasion, which had been arrested forty years before by Marius, was recommencing. The mass of tribes settled in the upper basins of the Danube and Rhine and in the valleys of the Alps were in a state of confused restlessness. Already the most dreaded people of all Germany, the Suevi, to the number of 120,000, had forced their way into Gaul, north of the Roman province, the frontier of which they touched, and 400,000 Helvetii were preparing to traverse it in arms, so that southern Gaul, and consequently Italy, lay exposed to an invasion as dangerous as that which had penetrated to the neighbourhood of Aquæ Sextiæ and Vercellæ.<sup>1</sup> The Suevi were in fact, only the vanguard of that barbarous world which was ceaselessly attracted towards the civilized world, and the country abandoned by the Helvetii was soon to be occupied by warlike tribes, which from the heights of the Alps would cast longing looks upon the rich plains of Gallia Cisalpina. The Vatinian plebiscitum was not therefore one of those thoughtless favours sometimes bestowed by the people upon their leaders; it was desirable for the public interest that the guarding of the whole northern frontier should be confided to one general, and that that general should have time enough before him to prepare his plan of defence, as his uncle Marius had done, and to carry it into execution. The alliances concluded by Cæsar in Noricum<sup>2</sup> prove that he fully realized the importance of his commission. He took precautions on that side to protect the eastern gate of Italy against an attack from the Pannonians, whilst he defended the outposts in the west against their brethren of Gaul.

The equal duration of the two governorships has been disputed; that of Narbonensian Gaul should have been shorter, it is said, than that of Cisalpine, but the practical sense of the Romans did not understand any difference, especially when the true danger was on the banks of the Rhone; the senate, which

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar says so (*de Bello Gallico*, i. 33): . . . *quum omnem Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in Provinciam exirent atque inde in Italiam contenderent*. A senatus-consultum of 61, of which we shall speak further on, shows by the precautions taken in Gallia Narbonensis that the senate was very uneasy about that quarter.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar, *de Bell. civ.*, i. 18.

was then in a fair way to a reconciliation with Cæsar, could not insist on it, and Pompey, who upheld the plebiscitum for Cisalpine Gaul in the Forum, and gave his utmost support in the curia to the senatus-consultum for the Narbonensis, no doubt demanded that the conditions should be alike. Indeed, Velleius Patereulus, Appian, and Plutarch affirm that they were so.<sup>1</sup>

We have another proof that the senators were swayed by the energetic and far-seeing will of Cæsar, even after his consulship. As soon as he had resigned the fasces, two prætors attempted to invalidate his acts; he demanded that the question should be at once discussed in the curia. Cato's friends made a great disturbance, and for three days there were lively altercations; but the senate refused to allow the institution of a regular debate.<sup>2</sup> One of the tribunes also proposed to summon him before a court of justice, but his colleagues opposed their veto, a double intrigue doubly illegal, for the senators had been compelled by a plebiscitum to swear to observe his principal law, and no action could be brought against a magistrate while he was in office, so that Cæsar, who was a proconsul at the expiration of his consulship, enjoyed this immunity.

Warned by these ill-timed attacks, he resolved to avert their repetition and their effects by causing the urban magistracies to be given every year to friends disposed to guard him against a surprise. "Several swore an oath to him," says Suetonius, "to prevent his being accused during his absence, and some renewed the engagement in writing."

Among the senators so apparently well disposed towards Cæsar, there were most assuredly some who counted upon the barbarians' sword to free them from their formidable adversary. Pompey, without any evil purpose, thought that Cæsar's absence from Rome for five years would leave him most of the real profits of their partnership, a preponderating influence in Rome, and that place of arbitrator which was sufficient for a man who had more of the vanity than the ambition of power. Cæsar reckoned otherwise.

<sup>1</sup> Vell. Patere., ii. 44; . . . *tum Cæsari decreta in quinquennium Gallie.* App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 13; Γαλατίας τῆς τε ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεὺς ἐπὶ πενταετὺς ἀρχεῖν. Plut., *Cato*, 33; . . . ἐψηφίσαντο Καίσαρι μὲν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Γαλατίας ἀρχὴν ἀπάσης καὶ τέσσαρα τάγματα στρατιᾶς εἰς πενταετίαν.

<sup>2</sup> *Nec illo suscipiente.* (Suet., *Cæsar*, 23.)

Two opposite examples, the sad end of the Gracchi and the success of Sylla, had shown that nothing could be done without an army. In order to have an army he needed a province, a successful war, and spoil. Now, Gaul was rich; it was formidable; it lay at the very gates of Italy; successes would re-echo there as if it were but a few steps from the field of battle. He thought that after gaining as much military glory as Marius, Sylla, and Pompey, he would know how to make a better use of it, by giving the Republic that organization which for the last century she had been seeking amid civil wars and proscriptions. Was there more ambition than patriotism in these ideas? Many see only the former motive in Cæsar's conduct; I firmly believe that the latter must also be admitted.

### III.—CLODIUS, EXILE OF CICERO (58 B.C.).

Before his departure, Cæsar secured the consulship of the year 58 for Piso, his father-in-law, and Gabinus, one of Pompey's friends, with the rich governments of Macedonia and Syria for their proconsular year. He had settled the list of consuls who were to succeed them and to keep watch with his two partners over the maintenance of the *Julian Laws* during his absence. Finally Pompey, placed at the head of the commission for the agrarian law, remained at Rome with an indefinite authority which could not but appear formidable to the enemies of the triumvirate.

Among the dismayed aristocracy there were now but two men who caused any uneasiness. Cato was in the way, because the masses loved the rough virtues they did not possess, and the demands for a liberty about which they no longer exerted themselves. He was more popular in Rome than Pompey, almost as popular as Cæsar, but it was a popularity far more dependent upon curiosity than upon confidence. His dress, his language, his life were interesting, like a picture of past ages, though none ever dreamed of imitating him. There was no fear of such a man ever leading the people to any act of violence against their present masters. Yet his opposition was wearying, and it was resolved to get rid of it. Cicero was more dangerous, because, living more in the present than Cato, and knowing it better, he



demanding less and ran a chance of obtaining more. His eloquence too, might bring about unexpected results, and he had lately, on his return to Rome, completely broken with the triumvirs. "If I am driven too far," he had said, "I shall be quite able to hold my own against the oppressors." Moreover, Clodius claimed him as a victim, and Cæsar reckoned on Clodius to keep Pompey and the senate in check during his absence.

The law required a man to be forty-three for the consulate, but through the tribuneship a position of influence was much more quickly attainable; Clodius was therefore desirous of becoming a tribune. But he was a patrician, and adoption by a man of another order would deprive him of his nobility; yet he had not hesitated, but had brought forward as his adopting father an obscure plebeian, younger than himself. Pompey, and Cæsar too, had at first given themselves very little trouble to support this turbulent and ambitious man, whom they could not control, like Vatinius, according to their fancy. But in an action brought against C. Antonius, Cicero had taken it into his head to speak ill of the triumvirs.<sup>1</sup> That very day the adoption had been decided upon, and Pompey had officiated there as augur.<sup>2</sup> Cicero took fright and set out for his estate, hoping by silence to make up for the energy of his words; his manœuvre had been successful, and the triumvirs had made fresh advances to him. Among several means of attaining an object, Cæsar always chose that which agreed best with the kindness of his nature. Being desirous of removing Cicero from Rome, or else of attaching him to his own cause, he had successively offered him a free legation, one among the twenty places of land commissioner, and lastly, the rank of lieutenant in his Gallic army. After long hesitation Cicero had refused them all; Cæsar, though with regret, abandoned him to the resentment of Clodius.

On the 10th of December, 59 B.C., this scion of the Claudii took his seat on the bench of the plebeian magistrates. As usual, the public treasury bore the cost of the new tribune's popularity; a *lex frumentaria* abolished the moderate price which the poor paid

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *pro Domo*, 16; Suet., *Cæsar*, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *ad Att.*, viii. 3. Pompey was unfortunate in the choice of his friends. Thus he raised up Clodius, who did him so much harm, just as he had helped on Cæsar's fortunes, *quem in rempublicam abuit, auxit, armavit*.

for the wheat supplied from the public granaries.<sup>1</sup> A second law forbade any magistrate to break up the comitia on pretence of consulting the heavens, but anyone might be tempted to renew the strange opposition of Bibulus.<sup>2</sup> A third law re-established the ancient corporations<sup>3</sup> which the senate had recently suppressed (in 64?), and which the tribune hoped to make use of; and finally, he diminished the power of the censorate, which had so often been a weapon in the hands of the aristocracy. For a name to be erased from the roll of the senate or the equestrian order it was henceforth necessary to have a formal accusation, an examination, a defence of the accused offered in person or by an advocate, and lastly, the agreement of both censors in pronouncing a verdict.<sup>5</sup> It was the substitution of a trial with regular formalities for a sentence

Minerva with the Necklace.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This bounty diminished the receipts of the treasury by a fifth, says Cicero. (*pro Sestio*, 25.)

<sup>2</sup> This was the reversal of the *lex Ælia Fufia*. (Cic., *pro Sestio*, 15.) In point of fact the conduct of Bibulus had been only a scandalous abuse of a right formerly useful.

<sup>3</sup> *Collegia restituit*. (Cic., *in Pison*, 4; *pro Sestio*, 25; xxxviii. 13.)

<sup>4</sup> Statue from the Louvre Museum. (Clarac, *Descript. des Ant.*, No. 522.) Necklaces are very rare in ancient sculptural monuments, and this example is perhaps unique among good statues. Phidias had put a necklace on his Athene, of which our Minerva may be an imitation.

<sup>5</sup> Ascon., *in Pison*, 4.

without any argument in court, and since party-spirit had replaced the true spirit of government in the senate, the measure was a good one. It will be remembered that Catiline's principal accomplices were senators and knights degraded by the censors; it may be that many were driven to opposition, and thence to sedition, by unmerited disgrace.

All these preparations had but one object, to render the tribune master of the field whereon the true question was to be decided—that of exile of the leaders of the aristocratic party. He began with Cicero and proposed this law: "Fire and water



Cyprus (View of Nicosia and the Cerinian Chain).<sup>1</sup>

shall be forbidden to anyone who shall have caused the death of a citizen without trial." Cicero was protected by a *senatus-consultum*, and in delivering up Lentulus to the executioners he had only carried out an order of the senate. But in those unhappy times laws had no force but what they borrowed from the man or party whose work they were. Cicero did not even think of bringing forward these decrees in his defence; he put on mourning, he implored the assistance of the triumvirs and consuls, and a number of knights and senators entreated the people to save

<sup>1</sup> A. Gaudry, *Géologie de l'île de Chypre*, in the *Mém. de la Soc. de Géologie*, 2nd Series, vol. vii. pl. 149.



the man whom the people had named Father of his Country. All was in vain. Before the votes were given Cicero quitted the city. He hoped by this voluntary exile to disarm his enemies and prevent a condemnation; but on the morrow Clodius caused sentence to be declared; Cicero was not to approach nearer Rome than 400 miles (April, 58 B.C.). At the moment of his departure he had caused his most beautiful statue of Minerva to be carried to the Capitol, and had there consecrated it in the temple of Jupiter with this inscription; "To Minerva, Guardian of the City."

Cicero was a victim of the breach of prerogative accomplished by the senators in 63 B.C., and the law which struck him down had that retrospective character which sound politics disapprove, but which is not always displeasing to factions. The second of the Gracchi had set the example,<sup>1</sup> and he had commenced the era of revolutions; Pompey afterwards imitated Clodius, and his law was one of the causes of the Civil war.

Cato gave no handle for an accusation. But Clodius induced the people to order him to go and reduce Cyprus to a province, and to bring back the treasures of the king of that island.<sup>2</sup> In order to prolong his exile he gave him in addition to the mission in Cyprus that of repairing to the heart of Thrace, to reinstate the exiles to Byzantium.<sup>3</sup> Cato obeyed; Cæsar was now free to set out.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. pp. 423-424.

<sup>2</sup> Dion., xxxviii. 30; Plut., *Cato*, 39. "The Romans appropriated the inheritance of a living man and the confiscation of a prince in alliance with them." (Montesquieu, *Gr. et décad.*) But this prince had formerly offended the all-powerful tribune by sending Clodius only two talents for his ransom when he had been taken by pirates. Cato carried out his commission with such rigour that he boasted on his return of having brought back more gold than Pompey. He poured the whole of it into the treasury, and did not retain a single drachme. (Plut., *Cato Minor*, 45.)

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *pro Domo*, 20.

<sup>4</sup> ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ ("the polity of the Cypriotes"). The temple of Venus at Paphos with her emblem (the conical stone) and the doves of the goddess. Coin of the island of Cyprus.



Coin of Cyprus.<sup>4</sup>



## CHAPTER LIII.

### GAUL BEFORE CÆSAR.

#### I.—PRIMITIVE POPULATIONS.

IN all ages man inquires whence he comes and whither he is going. Philosophy and religion undertake to answer the second of these questions; history attempts to elucidate the first by clearing away the darkness which envelopes his origin. Since the course of our narrative leads us into ancient Gaul, let us pause for a moment to study the nations which first began its civilization. We have done so for Italy; we may fairly undertake to do the same for France.

In the geological ages Gaul had experienced all kinds of climates, from intense colds to torrid heats, and possessed all kinds of fauna. The giant mammoth, the great elk with its enormous horns, the reindeer, and the great cave-bear inhabited it, when the Alpine glaciers, passing beyond the Jura, stretched to the Rhone, and those of the Pyrenees spread far into the lower valleys. The elephant, the rhinoceros, the ape, the lion had lived there in the time when it had an African temperature.

But five or six thousand years ago, when Babylon was building her temples and Egypt her pyramids, Gaul had the temperate climate which it still retains, and was nothing but one immense dome of verdure.<sup>1</sup> From the higher regions of the mountains descended the dark army of pines; on the slopes and in the valleys, the oak, the elm, the beech, the maple, and the birch; in the damp plains, the willow; in gloomy spots, the

<sup>1</sup> Before the Roman invasion, says M. Belgrand. (*Le Bassin parisien aux âges pré-historiques*, p. 139.) France was covered with thick forests, and even the soil of Champagne was carpeted with brushwood.

gigantic box and the yew with its poisonous juice<sup>1</sup> were crowded together. The granite soil of Auvergne<sup>2</sup> was covered with alders, and the hills of the Limousin country with chestnut trees.<sup>3</sup>

In the shadow of these vast woods wandered the wild ox,<sup>4</sup> which no longer exists except in the forests of Lithuania, and numberless herds of wild-boars, which fed on the acorns of the



Elk *Magaceros* (Museum of Saint-Germain).<sup>5</sup>

oak forests. On the banks of the overflowing rivers, which were more rapid then than they now are, the beaver built his dams,

<sup>1</sup> At least the Gauls regarded it as a poison. [It is so for cattle.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Arvernian, from the Gaelic *ar*, the, and *vern*, alder. (Cf. A. Maury, *Anciennes forêts de France.*)

<sup>3</sup> Among the exotic plants of Gaul, Pliny mentions the chestnut-tree; but this tree is indigenous in the temperate regions of Europe.

<sup>4</sup> The urus or bison of Europe still exists in the Caucasus (?) and Livonia, where they are provided with food during the winter. [The *bos primigenius*, on the other hand, the short-horned ancestor of the domestic cow, is preserved in Lord Tankerville's park at Chillingham, on the Scottish Border, where there is still a herd of about seventy in a wild state.—*Ed.*]

<sup>5</sup> [The cut hardly exaggerates the horns, which might be twelve to fifteen feet from point to point. Many specimens are found in the Irish bogs. These specimens have the reindeer shovel at the root of the horn, showing the climate to which the animal was suited.—*Ed.*]

and the bees made their combs in the hollow trees in peace.<sup>1</sup> In the mountains, the bear, in the plain the wolf and the lynx, were the real masters of the country. Man however, had long since appeared there,<sup>2</sup> and the caves have preserved his remains, his arms, and even his arts—spear-heads of split flint and quartz (the



Very ancient stone axes, found at Saint-Acheul.

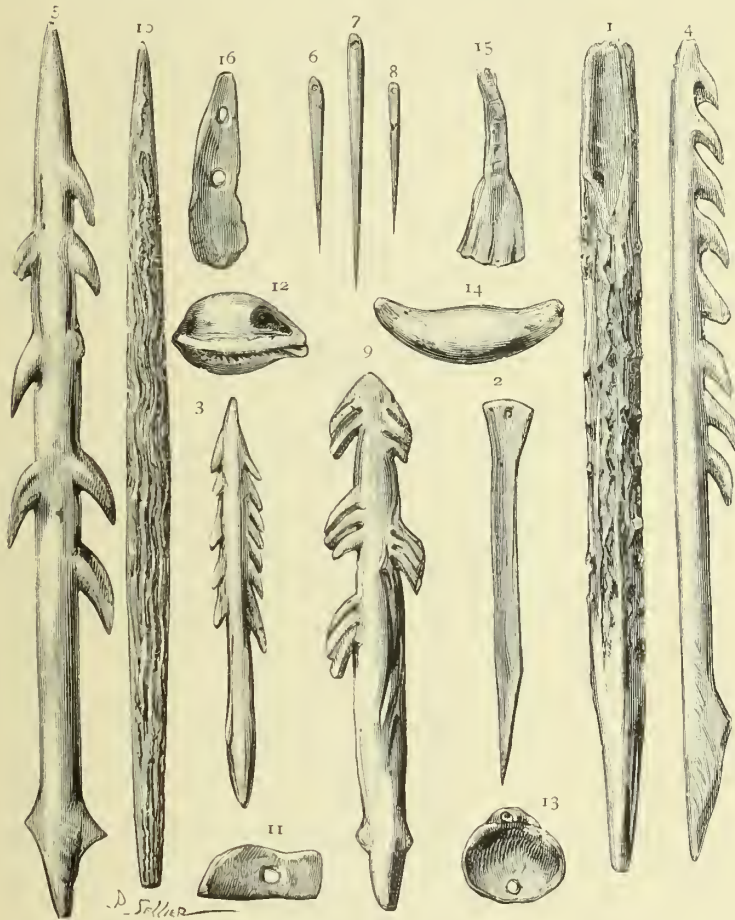
axes of Saint-Acheul), tools and hunting implements, carved bones, other bones pierced to serve as instruments of music, reindeer horns bearing scratched designs, etc. (See pp. 76, 77, 78, and 79.) This was the stone age. Of these first-born of Gaul we know nothing.<sup>3</sup> The men who were to be our ancestors were wandering far away in another continent.

<sup>1</sup> Hydromel, made with water and honey, was one of the favourite beverages of the Gauls. (Diod., v. 26.)

<sup>2</sup> He inhabited Gaul during the whole quaternary [post-tertiary] period, and "probably lived on the borders of the tertiary deposits." (De Quatrefages, *l'Espèce humaine*.)

<sup>3</sup> A new science, anthropology, the generalizations of which are premature, ventures to insist that the skulls found in the most ancient deposits are brachycephalous, or almost round (ratio of 85 to 100 between the two diameters, transverse and longitudinal), whereas the

Up to these last few years, it was only through the writers of Rome and Greece that we knew anything of our origin.



Manufactured Objects: Cave of Périgord<sup>1</sup> (p. 75).

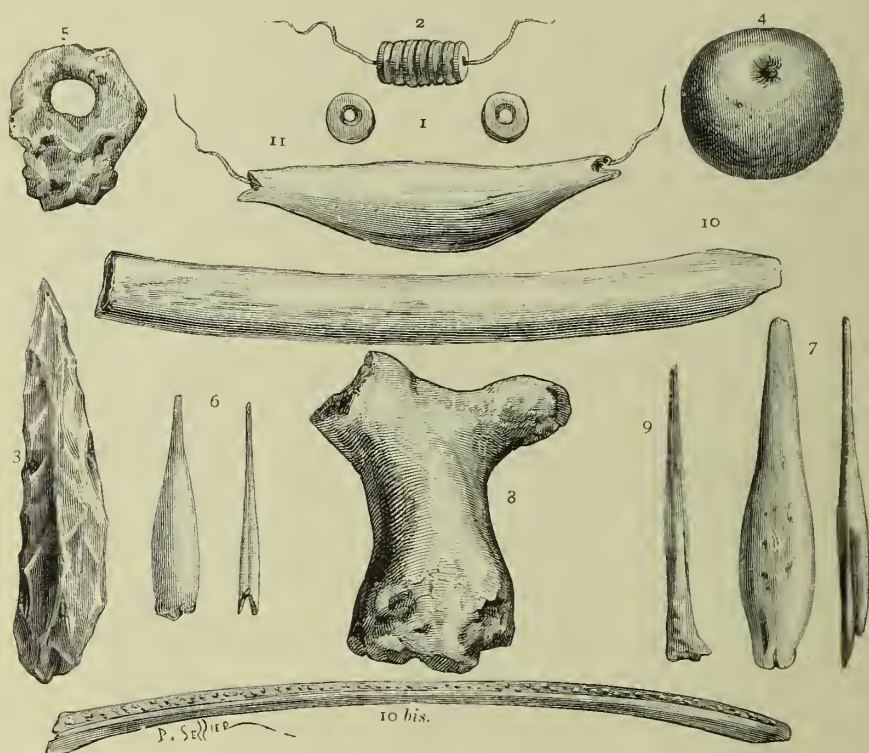
When the Romans arrived in Gaul they found there three or four hundred tribes, divided into three great families—the Celts, or

more modern, or Aryan skulls, are dolichocephalous, that is to say, elongated (ratio between the same diameters, less than 75 to 100).

<sup>1</sup> 1. Fragment of reindeer horn carved in relief, hollowed out at the extremity to serve as a spoon for marrow. (Museum of Saint-Germain.) 2. Bone bodkin. (*Dict. arch. de la Gaule*.) 3. Head of arrow or harpoon of reindeer horn. (Museum of Saint-Germain.) 4. Harpoon of reindeer horn, cave of Bruniquel (Tarn-et-Garonne). (*Ibid.*) 5. Harpoon of reindeer horn, very prominent barb. (*Ibid.*) 6. Bone needles. (*Ibid.*) 7 and 8. Bone needles. (*Ibid.*) 9. Harpoon of reindeer horn. (*Dict. arch.*) 10. Spear-head of reindeer horn. (Museum of Saint-Germain.) 11. Canine-tooth of reindeer bored artificially to serve as an ornament. 12. Cowrie shell bored artificially to serve as an ornament. (*Dict. arch.*) 13. Scallop shell artificially bored. (*Dict. arch.*) 14. Canine-tooth of wolf artificially bored. (Museum of Saint-Germain.) 15 and 16. Incisor of ox bored and ornamented with light intaglios artificially. (*Ibid.*)



Gauls, the Belgæ, and the Iberi or Vascones. But where had they come from? Rome did not know, and cared very little. In those days the question of origin was easily settled by deciding that nations had sprung from the soil which bore them. The Druids boasted of being the children of Gaul. In modern times

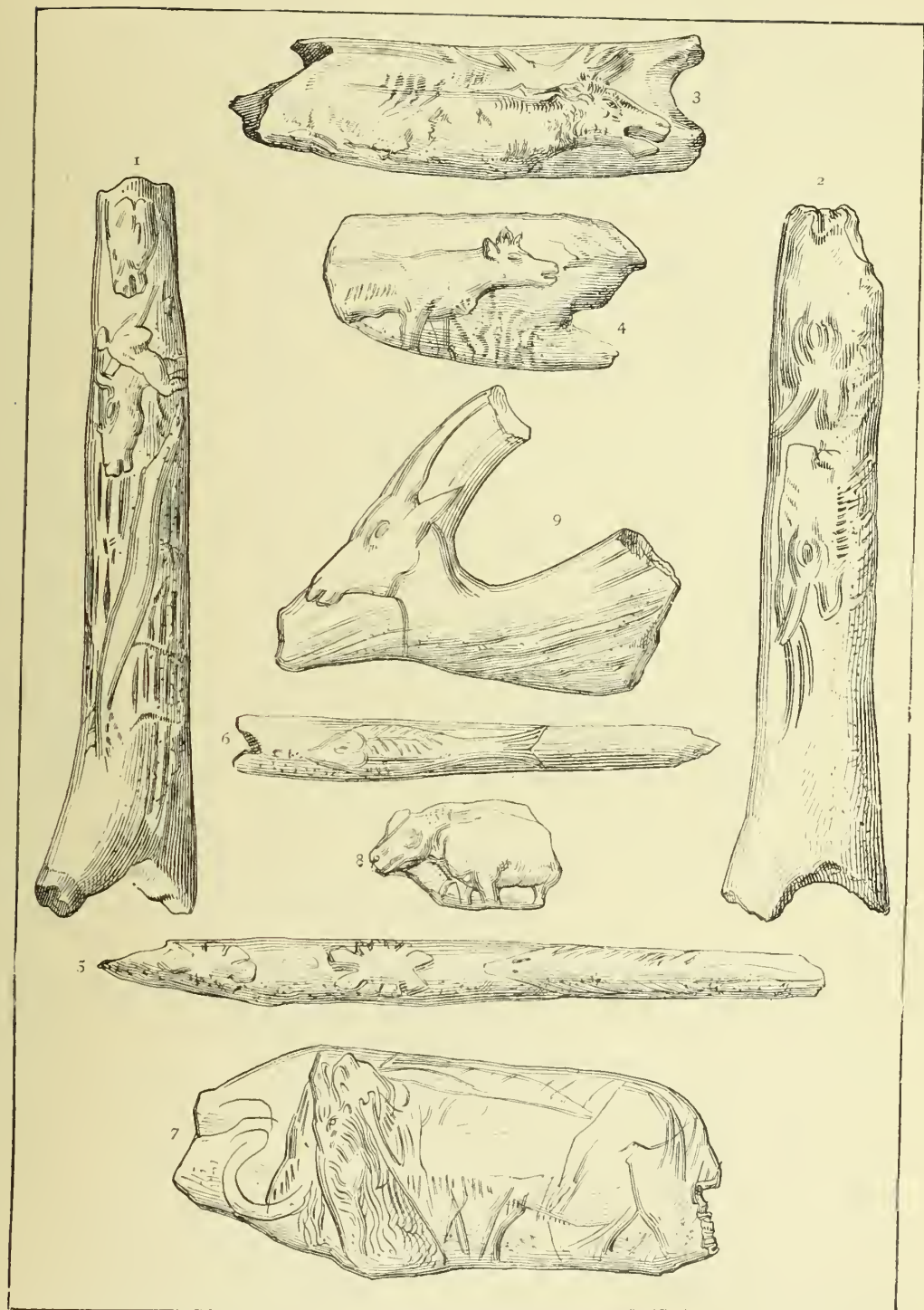


Manufactured Objects in bone, flint, and horn.<sup>1</sup>

men have been more curious, but their search was long in vain. The comparative study of languages at length solved the problem.

The fathers of our race at first inhabited the plains of upper Asia, along with the ancestors of the Hindus and Persians, speaking a common language, and perhaps already possessing the germ of the sacerdotal corporation of Druids, as the other two nations possessed those of the Veda and the Avesta. At some unknown epoch the Greeks, Latins, and Celts separated from their Asiatic brethren; they set forth westward, and went in that direction as long as there was any land to occupy.<sup>1</sup>

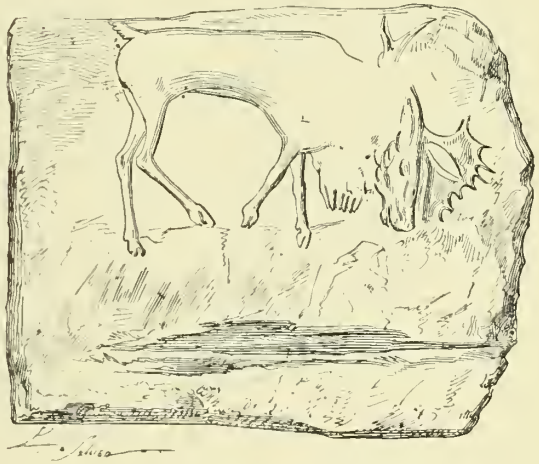
<sup>1</sup> M. Ad. Pictet of Geneva, in his book on the primitive Aryans, which is a sort of linguistic palæontology, has already settled what was the primitive abode of the Aryans, what were their migrations towards the West, and what relations existed between the Celts, who set out first,



Manufactured Objects: Caves of Périgord (*Dict. arch. de la Gaule*).



Europe was at that time covered, like Gaul, with virgin forests, wherein, had not full rivers intervened, the squirrel might have passed from the Ural to the Ocean without ever touching the ground. The Celts, when they had left the steppes of upper Asia, frozen and burnt by turns, plunged resolutely into the unfathomable depths of the vast forests, halting perchance in the clear spaces to sow a little rye or oats, which they had brought from Asia, and leading with them the ox and the horse, which the most ancient nations managed to tame, the dog, the sheep, the goat, and the common fowl, which were already reduced to the domestic state, and the pig, the flesh of which, cooked in coarse earthenware pots, continued to be their principal food. In later times

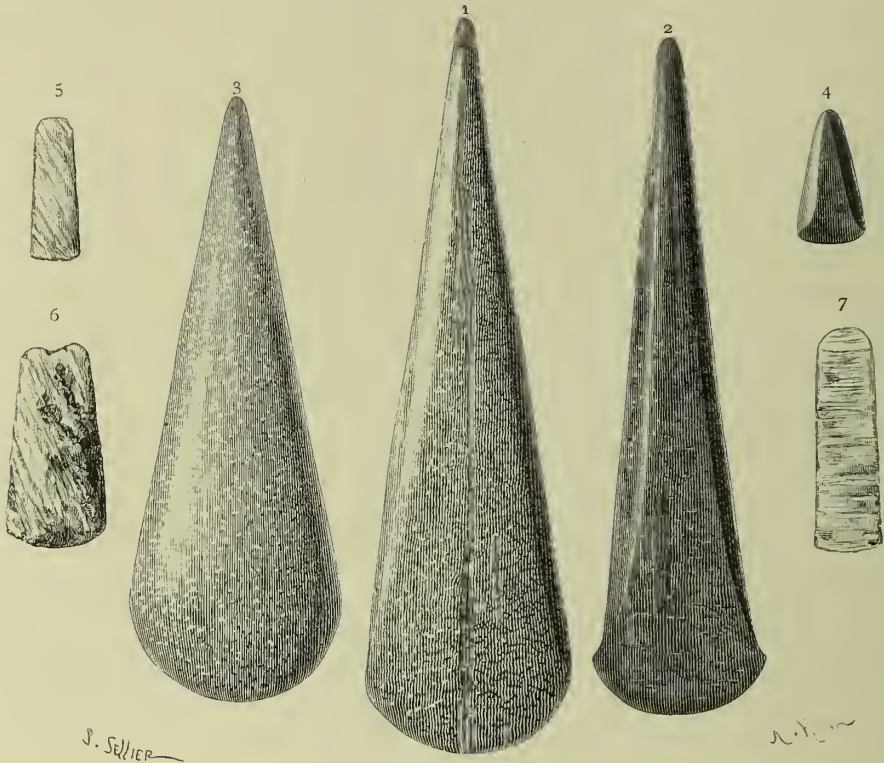


Drawings engraved upon Reindeer horn (Museum of Saint-Germain), p. 75.

and the Pelasgians or Græco-Latins, the Germans and the Slavs, who followed them. He shows what the state of these Aryan tribes was before their separation, how they already cultivated the plants which form the basis of our agriculture, employed the help of our domestic animals, and were acquainted with the use of metals. He has even made investigations as to what their ideas and social organization may have been. [The theory of the Asiatic origin of the Aryan family, generally accepted a few years ago, is now likely to give way to the newer hypothesis of its origin in some part of north-eastern Europe, though it seems difficult to find a likely region there.—*Ed.*] *Explanation of the Drawings on p. 75:*—Figs. 1 and 2. Front and back of a piece of reindeer horn, on which are engraved a man, some horses' heads, a serpent, and some heads of oxen. Fig. 3. Fragment of reindeer horn having a reindeer engraved on one of its surfaces. Fig. 4. Ox engraved on a fragment of bone. (These three objects are in the Museum of Saint-Germain, which also possessed a cast of the three following ones.) Fig. 5. Rod of reindeer horn with ornaments and a lizard, or the skin of some animal. (British Museum.) Fig. 6. Fish engraved on a rod of reindeer horn. (British Museum.) Fig. 7. Mammoth, or *Elephas primigenius*, engraved on an ivory plaque. (*Musée d'hist. nat. de Paris.*) Fig. 8. Ox engraved on a fragment of bone. (British Museum.) Fig. 9. Wild-goat engraved on the fork of a reindeer horn. (Collection of Édouard Lartet.) (*Dict. arch. de la Gaule, époque celtique*, vol. i., *Cavernes*.)



the boar was the symbol and the standard of the Gallic nations.



Axes of Polished Stone.<sup>1</sup>

With their axes and knives of polished stone, sharpened on a grindstone or polisher, with their flint-headed arrows and spears



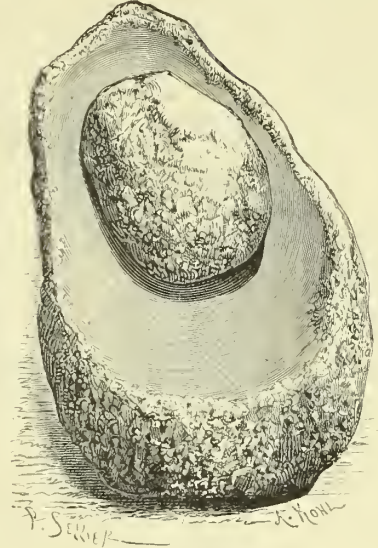
Flint Arrow-heads (Museum of Saint-Germain).

of reindeer horn, they lived by hunting and fishing, like the

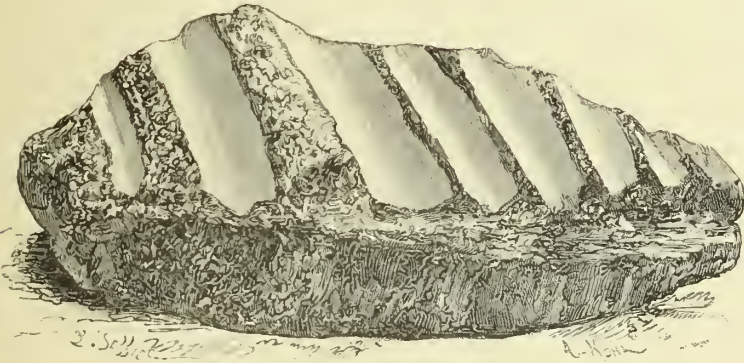
<sup>1</sup> 1, 2, 3. Axes of chloromelanite from the dolmens of Morbihan. (Museum of Vannes, casts in the Museum of Saint-Germain.) 4. Axe of jade. (Museum of Saint-Germain.) 5, 6, 7. Axes of febrolith from the dolmens of Morbihan. (Museum of Vannes, casts in the Museum of Saint-Germain.)

Redskins of America, but they did not, like them, always return to the accustomed wigwam. Their hunting-grounds extended ever wider. They were, in truth, the *men of the forests*, Kelts,<sup>1</sup> as the Greeks called them.

Wandering across rivers and mountains, they ultimately reached the shores of the great sea which bounded the West. From one point on its coasts they saw high cliffs showing white on the horizon, and they wished to reach these also. Thus the great island which flanked Gaul became their domain; they only halted when, from the tops of the furthestmost promontories of Scotland and Ireland, they saw before them nothing but the immensity of the ocean. They could go no further; the long journey begun in Bactriana was at an end.



Grindstone <sup>2</sup> (p. 81).



Polisher <sup>3</sup> (p. 81).

They preserved no memory of it, and thought that they had arisen in Gaul; but in proof of their Asiatic origin they retained

<sup>1</sup> In Gaelic *kailte*, forest.

<sup>2</sup> Grindstone of glossy sandstone, found in the Gallic cemetery at Chassemy (Aisne). (Museum of Saint-Germain.)

<sup>3</sup> Of glossy sandstone with veins of jasper (Department of the Vienne). (Museum of Saint-Germain.)

a language akin to Sanscrit, the sacred language in which the religious books of India are written.

This language of the Celts is not lost. It has a literature, poems, and legends, and is still spoken in the heart of Britany, in Wales, in the north of Scotland, in [the mountains of] Ireland, and [until lately] in the Isle of Man [and in Cornwall]. Those who use it are the last representatives of that ancient people. So also do a few ruins, still standing, attest the greatness of their ancient monuments which have fallen; but even these ruins diminish day by day. In France there are not 300,000 Bas-Bretons who understand and speak the dialect of the Druids. The Celt recedes before the Frenchman; the elementary school, the regimental school and trade wage a deadly war against him.

The Celts do not appear in the Classic authors till towards the close of the fifth century before our era; but this is no proof that the nation had not long existed in Gaul, where it formed the second stratum of the population and the second period of history, the age of polished stone, of megalithic monuments, and pile-constructions, or lake dwellings. From this period date the *dolmens* and *covered passages*, erections for purposes of burial, which have been found in 1,100 communes of France, and have suggested a new science, that of interrogating the dead, or rather their appointments, which the Italians have so well named the Science of the Tombs.

After a long interval there arrived the main body of the Gallic tribes who were related to the Celts, but who had started from Asia much later, and brought with them a more advanced culture. Having first established themselves in the valley of the Danube, in the neighbourhood of rich and civilized countries, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, these Gauls made numerous incursions into them, and from time to time we come upon objects which they had pillaged in those distant expeditions; at Rodenbach, near Speyer, a piece of Etruscan pottery; in other places bronze vases, tripods, and jewels, which may perhaps have been taken at the sack of Clusium.

Pursuing their way westward they crossed the Rhine and the Jura, drove back the first Celts before them, and covered eastern Gaul and the south of Germany with innumerable tumuli. This was the third age, the age of metals.

A distinction has been made between the Celts and the Gauls, or Galatæ.<sup>1</sup> We cannot discuss special questions of ethnology in this rapid summary, which is only intended to show the general physiognomy of the nations which Rome conquered. Gallic archæology, a new science, has made rapid progress, but it is still in course of formation, and the historian can only make use of sciences which are complete or sufficiently advanced to have solved the most important problems. But from the work already accomplished we may conclude that the great antiquity of man in Gaul may be considered beyond doubt; also that of the megalithic monuments, which have long been called Druidic, but which have been proved to exist in very many parts of the globe; also the Aryan origin of the Celts and Gauls and of their language; the succession of different civilizations upon our soil, or rather the progressive development of manufacture, extending from the clumsy flints of Saint-Acheul to the arms and implements of bronze, and still more of iron, of the tumuli; and finally, the long occupation of the Danube valley by the Gauls. For the rest it is best to await the evidence to be derived from the Museum of Saint-Germain,<sup>2</sup> where the objects found in numberless researches carried on by an army of savants are now accumulating. Meanwhile we may adhere to Cæsar's words about the inhabitants of central Gaul; *Qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur*.<sup>3</sup> These words are not true for the whole chronological series, but they were for Cæsar's time, and that is enough for us here.

On arriving in the country which was to retain their name the Gauls found some unknown peoples, whom they exterminated or enslaved, and some Iberian tribes settled between the Loire and Rhone and the Pyrenees. These latter [the Basques] are the despair of modern erudition. No one has ever yet discovered the road by which the Iberi entered Europe, and their language is not an evident derivation from any known language. In Gaul they were called Aquitani, in Spain, Iberi; they called themselves

<sup>1</sup> On this question, see in the *Journal des Savants* of 1875, a study by M. Maury, who does not admit the distinction proposed by M. Alexandre Bertrand.

<sup>2</sup> [As well as from those of Copenhagen, of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, and of Pesth, where so many traces of incoming tribes are collected.—*Ed.*] See, on vol. ii. p. 441, the megalithic monuments at Sigus in Numidia.

<sup>3</sup> *De Bell. Gall.*, i. 1.



Eskualdunacs. Did they come through Africa and over the Straits of Gibraltar, or did they traverse the continent from the heart of Asia, leaving some of their race in the Caucasus, which also possesses an Iberia? No one knows. Some authorities have found in the Euskara language certain affinities with the Ougro-Tartar dialects, and particularly with those spoken from the north of Sweden to Kamtschatka. Antiquity already noted in them their brown complexion, spare frame, and short stature, which a long sojourn in sun-scorchèd lands produces. The Gauls never possessed these physiological characteristics, or else they had lost them beneath the thick, dark vault of the woods. In that damp and cold atmosphere they had assumed the features of the man of the north, his slim figure and light hair, but therewith that lymphatic temperament which will not allow him long to maintain the same effort. Eager at the outset, the Gauls quickly wearied.<sup>1</sup>

There were long struggles between the two races. The Eskualdunacs were driven from the banks of the Loire; they could not even hold out against Gallic impetuosity in the central mountains, but recrossed the Garonne. But with the Pyrenees in their rear they offered a resistance over which the invaders were unable to triumph. Leaving to the Iberi the rugged valleys whence they afterwards swept down and won back the plain as far as the Garonne, the Celts crossed the Pyrenean chain and inundated Spain as far as Cadiz, and there was a time when *Celtica* covered the immense territory which extends from the shores of the Atlantic to the mouths of the Danube.

When the reaction of the Iberian tribes took place, two Gallic nations, the Tectosages and the Arecomici, held their own in the basins of the Garonne and the Aude. The first entrenched themselves at Toulouse, the second at Nismes, and these places became two powerful cities.

Some Celts commingled with Germans had remained on the

<sup>1</sup> Anthropologists are disposed to admit that the primitive Aryan type, and consequently the Gallic too, had a dolichocephalous head, light hair, and blue eyes. Our auburn-haired Gauls must be half-breeds, arising from a crossing with the ancient dark-complexioned inhabitants. The excavations which I formerly made in the caves of Périgord brought to light several skeletons belonging to a tall and vigorous race. Among them was one of a young woman, who, having been wounded in the forehead by the stroke of a flint dagger, must have survived the wound for a month, as was proved by the repairs which nature had commenced in the bone.

right bank of the Rhine; they in turn crossed the great river and advanced along the *misty sea* as far as the mouth of the Seine; these were the Belgæ, who ruled between the Marne, the Rhine, and the German Ocean. Between Celt and Belgian there was no essential difference; the transition from one of these groups to the other was made insensibly; but the further one went towards the north-east, the more apparent became the German character and barbarism. The great mass of Belgæ were mainly of the Celtic race, and the latter were certainly our ancestors. Nineteen-twentieths of the French are descended from the Gauls.

Two nations, of a very different origin and civilization, the Phœnicians and the Greeks, came and added a little foreign admixture to the Gallie blood. The bold navigators of Tyre and Carthage, who so early travelled along all the Mediterranean coasts, visited also the mouth of the Rhone. At first they contented themselves with a few bartering transactions with the natives, then, obeying the instinct of invasion, which led

them to cover the coasts of Africa, Sicily, and Spain with colonies, they advanced into the interior of the country. The legends of the labours of the Tyrian Hercules represent the real history of the travels and establishments of the Phœnician race in Gaul. The god, it was said, came from Spain to the banks of the Rhone, where he had to fight a terrible combat. His arrows were exhausted, and he was about to succumb when Jupiter succoured him by causing



Tyrian Hercules.

a shower of stones to fall from heaven, which furnished the hero with fresh weapons. These stones may still be seen; they cover the immense plain of the Crau, whither the Duranee brought them down from the Alps. The victorious Hercules founded the town of Nîmes, near this spot, and in the heart of Gaul the town of Alesia. The valley of the Rhone being thus conquered for commerce and civilization, the hero resumed his way towards the Alps, and the gods beheld him cleaving the clouds and rending the mountain peaks. It was the pass of Tende that Hercules was opening, and the road from Italy into Spain that he was making across the lower Alps. Thus from the remotest ages have men loved to attribute to the invincible arm of some god or hero the long efforts of many generations.<sup>1</sup>

The legend about the Tyrian Hercules goes too far when it asserts the Phœnicians to be the founders of towns in the interior of Gaul, but it does not say enough of the numerous colonies of that nation along the coasts of Languedoc and Provence, nor about the voyages of those daring sailors across the stormy seas of the west. Coasting Spain and then Gaul they reached the island of Albion, and perhaps the Baltic, whither they went in search of amber beads, "those tears of the daughters of the Sun weeping the death of Phaëthon, their brother."<sup>2</sup>

The Phœnicians had preceded the Greeks in the supremacy of the Mediterranean, but were supplanted by them. The Rhodians established themselves at the mouth of the Rhone, whilst the colonies or factories of the Phœnicians in the interior fell into the hands of the natives. Towards the year 600 there came the Phocæans who founded Marseilles. The Greeks told a graceful legend about the origin of this town. A Phocæan merchant, named

<sup>1</sup> On the Phœnician colonies in Gaul, see E. Desjardins, *Geogr. hist.*, etc., vol. ii. p. 133 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Apoll., *Argonaut.*, iv. 610. The tragic end of Phaëthon and his sisters is represented on several ancient monuments. In the bas-relief in the Louvre Museum, given on p. 85, the Eridanus, under the figure of an old man, receives the rash youth amid his waves: behind them is Amphitrite holding a dolphin; near her are Jupiter, or Pluto, and Juno, the divinities who presided over air and fire; Earth lies near, holding in her arms three children, the personifications of the three seasons of the ancients; on the left, Cyenus, Phaëthon's friend, is weeping his death; before him is a swan, to call to mind that the son of the Sun was metamorphosed into that bird; finally, the sisters of Phaëthon are changed to poplars, notwithstanding the prayers of their mother, Clymene, who was the cause of her son's death; his horses, escorted by the Dioscuri, occupy the upper part of the picture. (*Clarac Descript. des ant.*, No. 766A.)





Fall and Death of Phaethon (see p. 84 and note 2).





Euxenus, landed on the Gallic coast at some distance from the mouth of the Rhone. He was on the lands of Nann, the chief of the Segobriges, who received the stranger well and invited him to the feast given on his daughter's betrothal. Custom required that the young virgin should herself go and offer a cup to the man among her father's guests whom she chose for her husband. At the close of the repast she entered, holding a full cup, and went round the table where fair-haired young chiefs tried to arrest her glance. But it was fixed upon the stranger with the dark eyes and the proud and intelligent features. This southern beauty, which was unknown to her, captivated the child of the north, and she handed the cup to the Greek. Nann accepted his daughter's choice: he gave the Phocæan, for her dowry, the bay on which the new-comers had landed. There Euxenus laid the foundation of Marseilles. The story is said to come from Persia, but it was worthy of being repeated by the Greeks and preserved by us.

The new city grew rapidly under the protection of the powerful chief of the Segobriges. But Coman, his successor, felt differently towards it. One day when a great feast was announced, Coman sent word to the Massaliots that he wished to pay honour to their gods and he sent waggons into the town covered with foliage beneath which there were hidden armed men. He himself drew near the gates with his warriors, and there lay in ambush. A woman had founded the town, another woman saved it. The daughter of one of the Segobriges, being in love with a Phocæan, disclosed the plot; the barbarians taken by surprise were slain; Coman himself perished. But from this there resulted continual wars which would at length have exhausted the strength of the Massaliots but for the arrival of unexpected help. An immense horde swept down from the north to cross the Alps. Their leader Bellovesus took the part of Marseilles, and inflicted such losses on the Ligures that they were unable to disturb the Phocæan city for a long time. Moreover in 542 it received numerous reinforcements. When Cyrus and his Persians subdued the Greeks of Asia Minor, the inhabitants of Phocæa, rather than obey him, abandoned their town, and cast into the sea a mass of red hot iron, swearing never to return to Phocæa till that iron should rise burning to the surface of the waters; then they set sail for their

prosperous colony among the Gauls. Marseilles profited by the alliance of the Romans who kept down all rivals of her commerce; in gratitude she opened up Gaul to them, and it was for her protection that they formed their first province.<sup>1</sup>

There still remains a curious monument of those distant ages which scarcely suggests the masterpieces that Greek sculpture was already producing. It is a stone which might be taken for a simple pebble but for the inscription it bears, which declares it to be the representation of the son of Venus.<sup>2</sup> The first idol that Greece raised in the country of Druidic stones is a wave-worn pebble. Like a child who endows with life everything he touches,



The Stone of Antibes.

and takes a piece of wood for a man, the peoples of early times did not require the form to answer to the conception; they embodied an idea in a stone, and it became a god.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 484 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Heuzey, vol. xxxv. of the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1874. This stone, found near Antibes in 1866, and similar to those adored in Asia, is the most ancient monument of Greek civilization in Gaul. M. Heuzey puts it as far back as the fifth century before our era, and translates the inscription thus; "I am Terpon (the local name of Eros or Amor), servant of the august goddess Aphrodite. May Cypris reward with her favour those who placed me here." M. Heuzey continues; "For some time the Greeks had no longer been reduced to adore mere rude stones. But a persistent attachment to the most primitive forms of worship through all the advances of art is, so to say, a law of the history of religions. It was not till after the time of Pericles that the Amor of Praxiteles and that of Lysippus were placed side by side with the coarse pebble to which sacrifices were offered in the temple of Thespiæ. It was not till the time of Pausanias, that is to say, till the Roman empire was in full sway, that men thought of consecrating in the temple of Orchomenus, along with the three stones that had been adored during the whole Hellenic period, the group of the Graces as it had been conceived by Greek sculpture. And moreover, the creations of art were only offerings, ornaments of the sanctuary, which in no way diminished the religious prestige of the true idols, the shapeless fetishes consecrated by tradition."

II.—THE GAULS.<sup>1</sup>

The Gauls have often been pictured as morally a very superior race. They have been praised for “courage and loyalty, religious faith and love of liberty, vivacity and intelligence, an aptitude for literature, keenness for new ideas and new things, and sensibility in regretting the past and sometimes a readiness to give up an unsuccessful struggle.” This is a charming sketch, but it is very doubtful whether our warriors of the yellow moustaches and violent and brutal passions would have recognized it. It would have been foolish to trust their loyalty. If it is but justice to own that they were brave and loved independence, these qualities might be found everywhere. The Druids possessed great influence among them; have priests never ruled elsewhere? Their impulse towards new ideas and things may well astonish us, for they long lived near Greek and Roman civilization without adopting anything from it, and the Galatæ, who for six centuries were established in the middle of Asia Minor, still remained true Gauls. The aptitude for letters attributed to them on account of a few rhetoricians, perhaps of Italian origin, whom Gaul sent to Rome is not proven. What is it, compared to the Spaniards who made an epoch in Latin literature by giving it Seneca, Lucan, Quintilian, and Martial, or of the African population whence sprang [Terence] Apuleius, Tertullian, and St. Augustine? Regret for the past is one of the common sentiments of human nature, part of the poetry of the heart, just as discouragement after defeat is one of the usual characteristics of savage life. Moreover, perseverance does not seem to have been lacking in the nations and chiefs who maintained the great War of Independence.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The following account of the antiquities of Gaul, which is out of proportion in explicitness as a digression in a Roman history, has been here somewhat curtailed, but still requires some apology. The patriotism of the author may well excuse it to French readers. To the English public it has a special interest because Early Britain presented a like aspect. Stonehenge corresponds to Carnac, and everything which M. Duruy says about dolmens, cairns, ornaments, and designs on great stones can be verified in Ireland at present, either in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, or among the many well-known crannoges, dolmens, and raths with which that country abounds. So then, the reader may take what follows as a picture of Early Britain and Ireland, as well as of Gaul.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> The idea of *race* has in this century had a brilliant but dangerous success in science,



Let us quit these theories and proceed to facts. Our patriotism is not interested in concealing the fact that our ancestors were true barbarians, very brave, very quarrelsome, great slayers of men, who celebrated Homeric feasts when they could, and who were in the main very similar to barbarians of all ages, because barbarism is much the same everywhere when the geographical conditions are the same,<sup>1</sup> only that our people were indebted to their long travels, and still more to their settlement in a country situated at the extremity of the line of Asiatic migrations, for a particular character. Look at the sea; far out the wave is long and smooth; on the shore, where it ends, it produces a violent surf. Our Gauls, settled on the utmost boundary of the continent, and ceaselessly stirred up by fresh hordes of peoples, underwent a long struggle which rendered them brave, and were sometimes obliged to yield up their lands, which made them to seek others, and gave them a taste for adventures.

Diodorus Siculus, who wrote at Rome in the time of Augustus, represents the Gauls as of tall stature, with fair skin, and light hair. This portrait no longer describes us, because our blood is very mixed, and the physical conditions of our country and existence are no longer the same; it would suit the Scandinavians and a great part of the Germans. "Some of them," says the same writer, "shave their beards, others allow it to grow; the nobles wear long moustaches. They take their meals squatting on the skins of wolves and dogs. Beside them, on broad hearths, smoke cauldrons and spits furnished with quarters of meat. The brave are honoured by being offered the choicest morsels. Every stranger who happens to come is invited to the feast, and only after the repast do they ask him who he is and what he wants. Then there follow long stories, for the Gauls are curious to hear as well as to see. But these feasts are often stained with blood; words give rise to quarrels, and as they despise life, they challenge one another to single combat.

politics, and war. Under the various influences of geography and history, and by the union of frequently heterogeneous elements, we have seen *nationalities* take form, grow, and assume a distinctive character, which has rightly been called national spirit. But I acknowledge that I know nothing of the mysterious fairy who, bending over the cradle of new-born races, endowed them with good or bad qualities which they will ever retain.

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Lubbock and Hartmann have found almost identical habits among the savages of Australia and Africa.

“Their aspect is terrifying; they have loud, rough voices, speak little, and express themselves in riddles, affecting in their speech to leave the greater part to be guessed.” We have not retained this moderation in words, but it is found among the American Indians, who would think they disgraced themselves if they spoke otherwise. Diodorus adds; “They are fond of employing hyperbole in boasting of themselves or depreciating others.” This is another characteristic which applies to very many barbarians and not a few civilized nations.

The ancients had a great dread of the Gauls. “A violent race,” said they, “who make war on mankind, nature, and the gods. They shoot arrows against the sky when it thunders; they take arms against the tempest; they march sword in hand upon overflowing rivers, or the ocean in its wrath.” Strabo called them a frank and simple people, among whom each feels injuries done to his neighbour, and that so keenly, that all promptly assemble to avenge them. It was an excellent disposition, but one which they shared with all warrior tribes, who have agreed to make common cause in bloodshed and injury.

The Romans, who were southerners, had only the tunic, a simple woollen shirt, and the toga, which enveloped the whole body, leaving the limbs free, and formed a protection against the sun, like the burnous of the Arabs. With its broad folds and the hundred ways of wearing it, the toga is essentially the costume of art. The dress of the Gauls was entirely different; breeches fitting tightly on the legs, which they called *bracca*; for the upper part of the body a tunic of various colours, and over that a *sagum* or broad band of cloth, which reminds one of the Scotch plaid, and was employed for the same uses; thick in winter, light in summer, it was fastened on the shoulder by a clasp or buckle. The *sagum* might hang loosely, but the rest of the costume, fitting closely to the body, was appropriate to the country; the Roman toga would at once have been torn to tatters in the thickets, and indeed, it would not have been any defence against the dampness and cold of the climate. Their *gallieæ*, or wooden-soled shoes, were in like manner superior on their muddy soil to the sandals made for the solid, dry ground of the great Roman highways.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We have retained, with some slight difference, the dress of the Gauls. Our trousers

Their dwellings were at first natural caves, or the *gourbis* of our Algerian population, round huts formed of boughs and covered over with kneaded clay or turf, with a hole in the top for the smoke, and often having the interior dug out below the surface of the soil. These excavations are still to be seen in many places, and the people call them, without being far wrong, *wolf-pits*.<sup>1</sup> They liked to place their dwellings at the confluence of two



The most Ancient stone Axes, found at Saint-Acheul.<sup>2</sup>

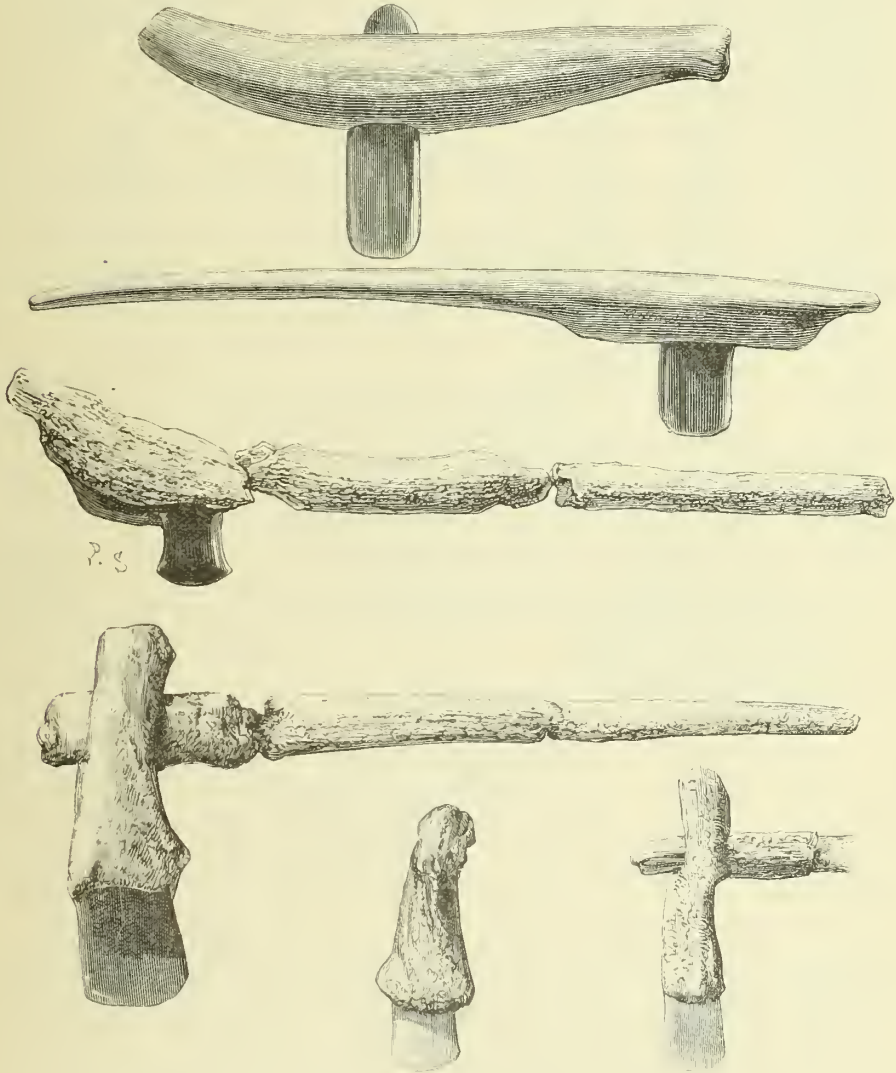
ivers, on islands or peninsulas, near a spring, or in the neighbourhood of forests; but for this they did not require to go far. For greater security, the first Celts, when they found themselves in the vicinity of a lake, erected their huts on piles in the midst of the waters (*palafittes*), and this custom was long preserved. In later times, when they knew how to dig wells,

answer to their *bracca*, our waistcoats to their tunics. The *sagum* has been transformed into a coat for the middle-classes, but it remains in the blouse of French workmen and peasantry, who still wear the Gallic shoe, and have even retained its name, *galoche* (*gallicæ*). The Gauls sought for the useful, because their climate did not permit of their adopting the beautiful. We have done the same.

<sup>1</sup> The subterranean passages so numerous in the provinces do not all date from the Frankish and Norman invasion, or from the Hundred Years War. Many were no doubt commenced by the Gauls.

<sup>2</sup> The use of these stone axes is met with among all barbarous nations. The savages of Oceania still have them, as the Mexicans had, and numerous collections of them have been made. The richest of these, to our mind, is that in the Museum of Saint-Germain. The stones earliest made use of were flint, jade, which came from a very long distance, diorite and serpentine. (See Joly, *L'homme avant les métaux*, 1879.)

they established places of refuge (*oppida*) in elevated and strong positions. Each dwelling was surrounded by hedges made of felled trees; several of these enclosures connected by a similar boundary formed a village or town.



Axes from the *palafittes* (Museum of Saint-Germain: the Stone-Age Room).

For a long time the inhabitants of Gaul had only stone axes bound to their wooden handles with thongs of leather, and flint knives and arrowheads.<sup>1</sup> In a cave near Crécy (Seine-et-Marne),

<sup>1</sup> I found one of these arrow-heads in the sand of the Seine at Villeneuve-Saint-Georges, in the spot where it had fallen three or four thousand years ago, perhaps with the man whose

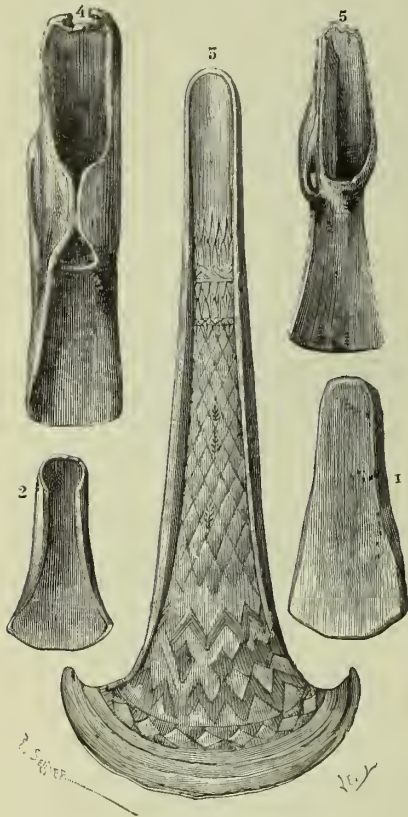


an axe has been found formed of a piece of jade inserted in a stag's horn, and a blade of flint in the rib of an ox. Near

Périgueux there has been discovered a kind of manufactory of stone arms, where amidst heaps of rubbish are seen, axes cast aside as worthless and others which had been re-cut. This kind of workshop exists in many other places. In one of them, found at Saint-Acheul, near Amiens, these evidences of human industry are mixed with the fossil bones of mastodons, and consequently date from the most ancient times.

Arms of bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, and those of iron, which were more difficult to manufacture,<sup>1</sup> are of a later age, and first belonged to the tribes of eastern Gaul, who were nearest to the north of Italy, where metallurgy had come into use.

These shapeless arms must be handled with respect; they represent the first victory of mind, and a



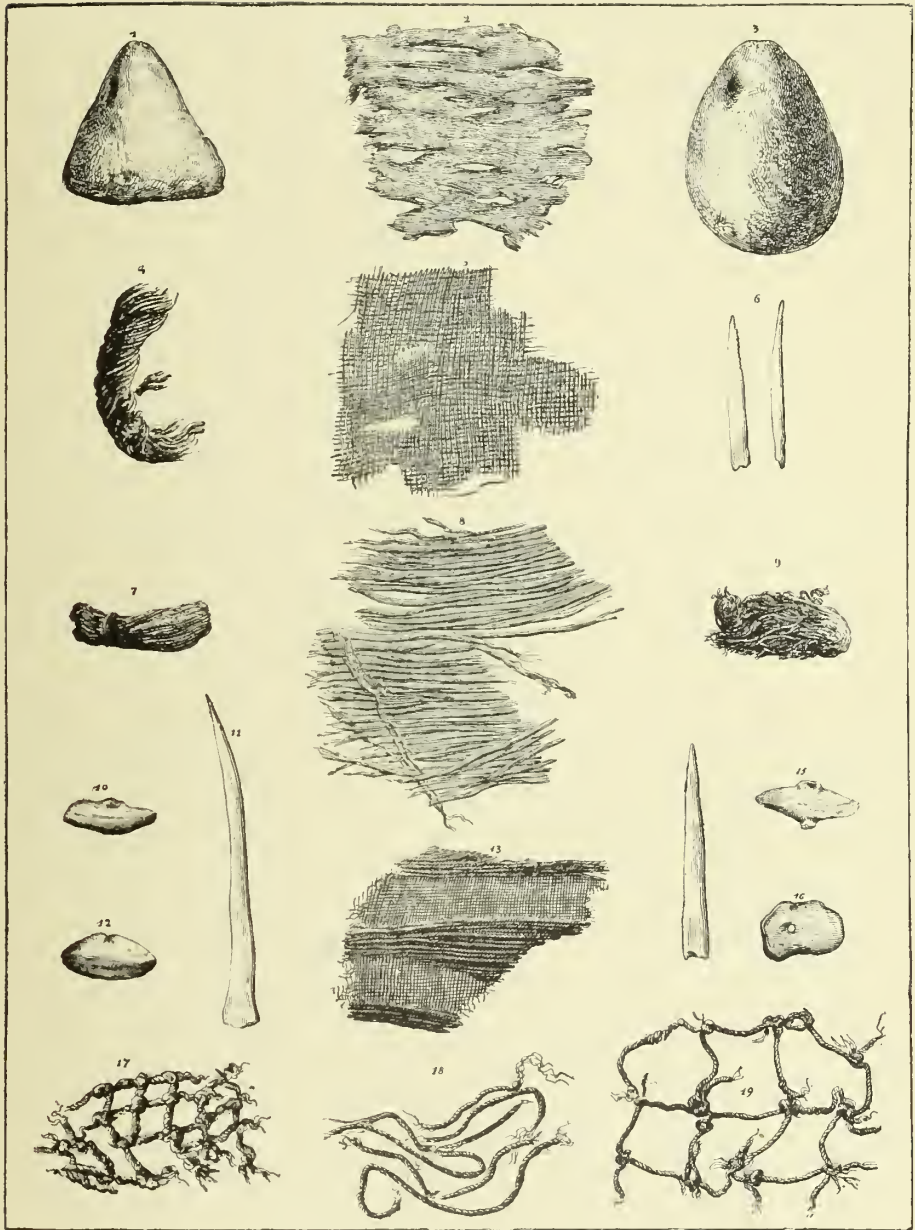
Bronze Axes.<sup>2</sup>

conquest far more valuable at that time than all the wonders of modern science. No man can say how much time and intelligence

breast it had pierced, for its edges were as sharp as the first day it was made; a calcareous paste which had formed all round had protected it. The method of manufacture may still be traced on it; it is quite a lapidary's work. The workman had succeeded in giving the flint the same purity of form that iron would have had by taking off microscopic splinters with the aid of some other hard substance. This arrow-head is still fit for service in the present day, and would now, as then, inflict mortal wounds.

<sup>1</sup> Iron wrought with the hammer did not adapt itself so readily as molten bronze to all the forms of moulding. Hence its rarity in the *palafittes* and tumuli, in which indeed, the exposure to oxydising must have destroyed many iron objects, whereas bronze is almost indestructible.

<sup>2</sup> *Dict. archéol. de la Gaule, époque celtique.* Figs. 1, 2. Axes found in the Seine at Pas-de-Grigny and Ablon (Seine-et-Oise). (Museum of Saint-Germain.) Fig. 3. Axe ornamented with engraving, found at Marenuil-sur-Ourq (Oise). (Collection of Héricart de Thury.) Fig. 4. Axe with heel piece and lateral ring, Verneuil (Seine-et-Marne). Fig. 5. Axe with lateral flanges and ring. (Museum of Vannes, and cast in the Museum of Saint-Germain.)



Objects and Textile Fabrics obtained from the *palafittes* of Lakes Constance and Bourget.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1, 3. Counter weight of loom. 2. Felted cloth made of bark. 4. Carbonized linen cloth. 6, 11, 14. Teeth of flax-carder. 7, 9. Ball of carbonized flax. 5, 8. Carbonized linen cloth. 10, 12, 15. Distaff-pins or spindles for spinning flax. 13. Embroidery on linen, carbonized. 16. Float for nets. 17. Net with small meshes. 18. Linen thread. 19. Net with large meshes.



were expended in attaining to the shaping of flint, then the polishing of it upon a grindstone or polisher, or in discovering copper, its fusibility, the mixing of it with tin, or in making moulds in which the metal was melted and run. With what might was he armed who first held in his hands an axe of metal! From that day indeed man was no longer the outcast of creation. He ceased to envy the swiftness of the bird or the strength of the bear, for his arrow flew faster than the hawk, and his axe beat down the wild beast.

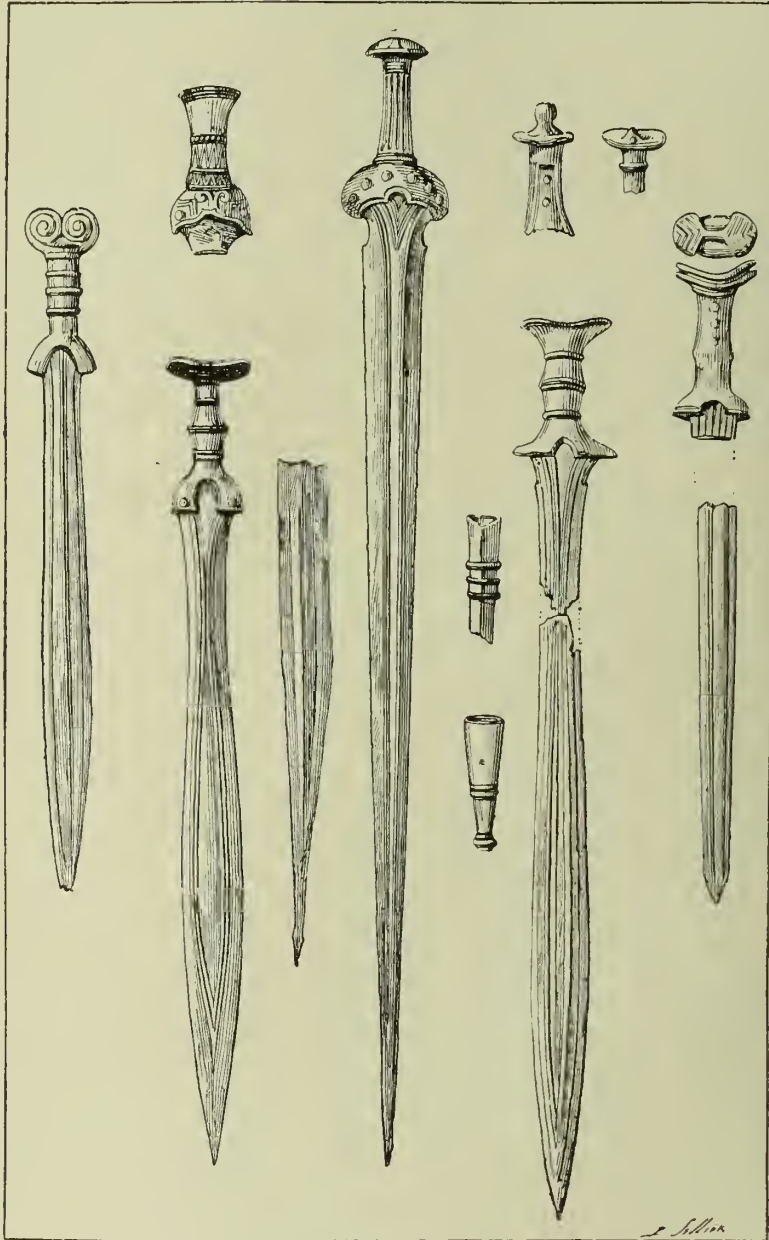
There is a famous ballad by Schiller about the bold diver who goes to the bottom of the roaring whirlpool in search of a golden cup which the king has thrown into it. His heart trembles, in spite of his courage, when he finds himself alone beneath the vast waves, amid the monsters of the deep which surround and threaten him. Thus it was for a long time with humanity, unarmed amid ravenous beasts, until it had won the golden cup which contained the early arts, and intelligence could begin its great struggle against brute-force.

In the Scandinavian regions archaeologists have been able to divide pre-historic civilization into three periods—the stone, the bronze, and the iron. The order of sequence was not so regular in Gaul, where bronze and iron seem to have made their appearance at almost the same time, but in different quantities, the former metal furnishing more objects than the latter. Their presence does not mark a spontaneous outcome of Celtic civilization, for these metals arrived in Gaul by means of barter, and furnished the eastern tribes, who first received them, with power to drive into the west the less well-armed representatives of the age of dolmens and polished stone. But as a matter of fact, the ancient history of Gaul is still made up of hypotheses, and we are well acquainted with only the last state of these tribes, that in which Cæsar found them.

The Roman conqueror was curious amid all his fighting, and his *Commentaries*, written in a clear and concise style, furnish valuable details about the manners and dress of ancient Gaul; none knew the Gauls better than he who subdued them. Another writer, a contemporary of Augustus, seems also to have been well acquainted with their customs. "Some of them," says Diodorus, "wear coats of iron-mail, others fight naked. Instead of swords



they have great sabres suspended on their right sides by chains of iron or brass. Some wear gold or silver girdles. They also



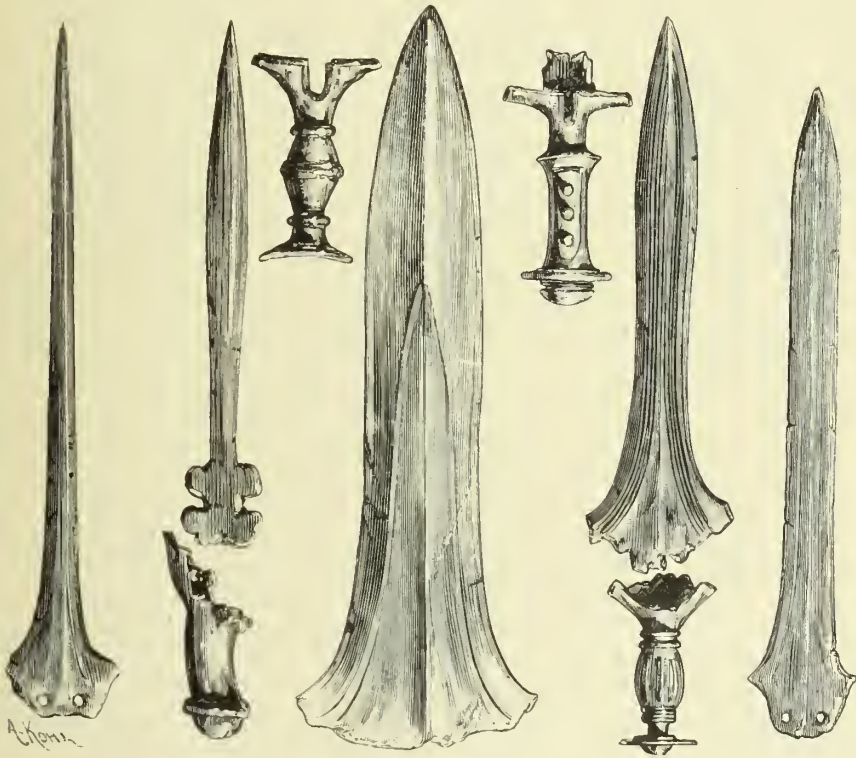
Gallic Arms of Bronze<sup>1</sup>.

make use of pikes, the heads of which are a cubit long and

<sup>1</sup> Swords and daggers. (*Dict. archéol. de la Gaule, époque celtique.*)

almost two palms broad. Their swords are scarcely less in size than the javelin of other nations, and the *saunie*, heavy javelin, which they throw, have blades longer than their swords. Of these *saunie*, some are straight, others curved, so that not only do they cut, but they also lacerate the flesh, and by drawing out the weapon the wound is enlarged."

Their bucklers were fashioned with great art, and sometimes decorated with figures embossed in brass. Their brazen helmets



Bronze Daggers.<sup>1</sup>

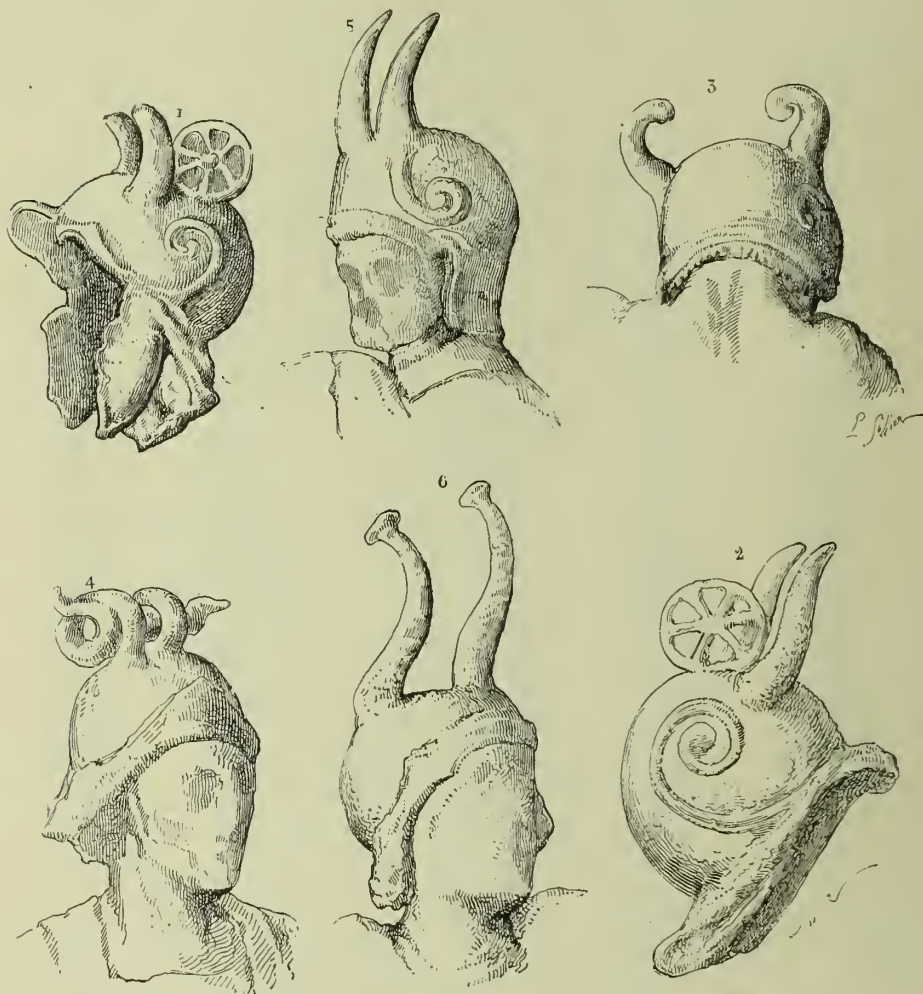
bore figures in relief, either of birds or quadrupeds, or horns which seem to have had some religious signification, in the same way as the collar, *torques*. Bracelets were also indispensable ornaments; in the stone age they were made of shells; later on they were of metal, and even of gold.<sup>2</sup> The warriors of the American prairies

<sup>1</sup> Blades and handles of bronze daggers. (Museum of Saint-Germain.)

<sup>2</sup> These collars and bracelets had probably a hieratic or social character; the chiefs wore gold ones; for free men they were of bronze. The Museum of Saint-Germain possesses more than a hundred and fifty of them. [There is also a fine collection at the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin.—*Ed.*]

and of the islands of Oceania decorate their heads with brilliant feathers and strange ornaments. In a barbarous age man possesses woman's vanity, and would fain appear beautiful as well as strong and brave.

"On journeys and in battle the wealthy make use of chariots drawn by two horses, and carrying a driver and a warrior.<sup>1</sup> First



Gallic and Gallo-Roman Helmets.<sup>2</sup>

they throw the spear, and then leap down to attack the enemy

<sup>1</sup> There is one in the Museum of Saint-Germain. (See the *Revue archéol.*, 1877, p. 217.)

<sup>2</sup> 1, 2. Horned helmets with wheel. (Arc d'Orange, cast in the Museum of Saint-Germain.)  
3. Horned helmet without wheel. (Arc d'Orange, a cast in the Museum of Saint-Germain.)  
4, 5, 6. Horned helmets from the tomb of the Julii at Saint Remys. (Cast in the Museum of Saint-Germain, rooms *b* and *c*.) These eccentric ornaments of Gallic helmets, mentioned by

with the sword. Some despise death so much as to come into the fight without other defensive armour than a girdle round the body. They bring with them servants of free condition, and employ them as drivers and guards. Before the trumpet has given the signal for action they are accustomed to come forth from the ranks and challenge the bravest of the enemy to single combat, brandishing their arms in order to intimidate their foes. If anyone accepts the challenge they sing the prowess of their ancestors, boast their own virtues, and insult their adversaries. They cut off the heads of their fallen enemies, fasten them on their horses' necks, and nail the trophies to their houses. If it is a renowned foe they preserve his head in oil of cedar, and some have been known to refuse to sell such a head for its weight in gold. "I have seen many of them," says the philosopher Posidonios, "and I was a long time in getting accustomed to the sight." Others set their enemies' skull in gold, and used it as a cup for religious libations.

These challenges, these long speeches before coming to blows, are found in the *Iliad*, and almost all barbarians have done their enemies the honour of preserving their heads or skulls as trophies. Before the fight



Gallic Trumpet.<sup>1</sup>

Diodorus (*Biblioth. hist.*, liv. v., c. xxx.), and still to be seen in bas-reliefs, are not a mere freak of the soldiers who wore them. Horns were, both in Gaul and the East, one of the attributes of command, one of the signs of divine or royal power, βασιλείας παράσημον, according to the expression of Eusebius. The god Cernunnos, on the altar of Notre Dame in Paris, has horns. The same is the case with the squatting divinity on the altar at Rheims, and with the original statuette at Autun. The symbolic and religious character of horns is rendered the more probable because, on the helmets of the Arc d'Orange, the horns are associated with the *wheel*, a well-known hieratic sign, and one of the special symbols of the Dioscuri. The wheel figures as such upon the coins of Marseilles. It is probable that we here have before us an Oriental souvenir. "It is quite allowable to trace an Oriental tradition in the attribute of horns worn by the gods" (and, we may add, by Gallic warriors), says Baron de Witte. (*Rev. arch.*, 1852, p. 56.) Not only is the god Belus represented on the cylinders with horns on his head, but Oriental kings did themselves honour by ornamenting their tiaras with them. Seleucus Nicator, following the example of the ancient monarchs, caused himself to be represented on his coins with a helmet decorated with a bull's horns and ears." (Note by M. Bertrand; see in Layard's *Mon. of Nineveh*, i. pl. 12, two sitting statues of the Assyrian god Nebo, wearing tiaras with a double pair of horns.

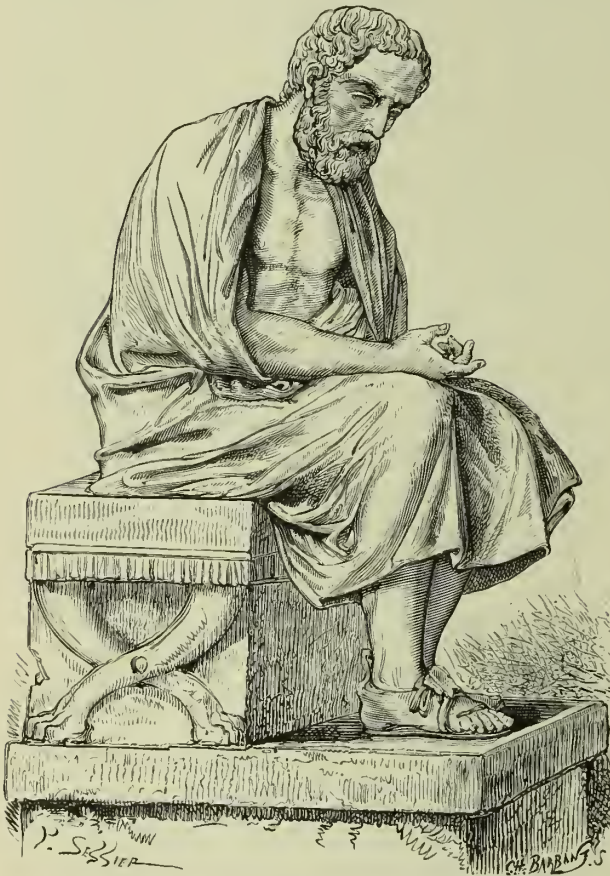
<sup>1</sup> Museum of Saint-Germain.



they often vowed the spoils of the foe to Hesus, and after the victory they sacrificed to him what remained of the cattle they had carried off. "The surplus of the booty is placed in a public place, and in many towns there may be seen these heaps of spoils piled up in consecrated spots. It very rarely happens that in

contempt of religion a Gaul dares clandestinely to appropriate what he took in war, or carry off anything from these stores. Death is the punishment of those who commit this theft."

The condition of the women in Gaul indicates some advance in civilization. From chattels they had become persons. Free in their choice of a husband, they brought with them a dowry; the man advanced an equal value from his property; the whole was put together, and this sum went to the survivor, with the in-



Posidonios.<sup>1</sup>

crease it had produced.<sup>2</sup> But the husband had the power of life and death over his wife, as well as his children, and the son could not accost his father in public before he was of an age to bear arms.

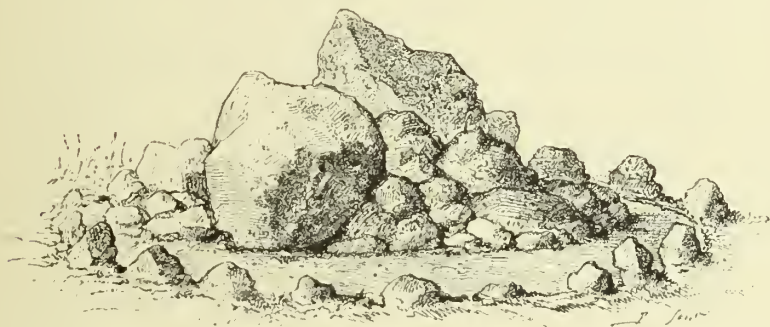
"When the father of a family of high birth dies, his kin assemble, and if they have any suspicion as to the cause of his

<sup>1</sup> Museum of the Louvre. (Clarac, *Descr. des ant.*, No. 89.)

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, vi. 19; . . . *cum fructibus superiorum temporum*. It corresponded to our gift of survivorship.

end, the women are subjected to examination;<sup>1</sup> if the crime is proved they are put to death by fire or in the most horrible torments. The funeral ceremonies are magnificent. All that is thought to have been dear to the departed during his life is cast on to the funeral-pile, even animals.” Up to within a short time before Cæsar’s expedition the slaves and clients whom the dead man had most loved were burnt with him.<sup>2</sup>

It seems that a portion of the territory of each tribe, the pastures, waters, and forests remained common property; the tribe itself was like a collection of clans.<sup>3</sup> There were two classes, the nobles and the free men. The former did not form an exclusive caste. They possessed wealth and lands, and round each of them



Tomb of a Gallic Chief (Museum of Cluny).

clustered a numerous crowd of servants and clients, who lived generation after generation in the house or in the domain of their chief. Cæsar calls them *equites* (knights), and this cavalry was much esteemed among the legions of the empire. But their ranks were open to courage, and whosoever was worthy to take a place among the first men of the city could lay claim thereto. “When any war is declared, which occurs almost every year, all the nobles take arms and surround themselves with a number of servants and

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar says (*de Bell. Gall.*, vi. 19); *de uxoribus . . . questionem habent*, whence some writers have concluded that polygamy existed in Gaul.

<sup>2</sup> There has recently been discovered not far from the gates of Paris, at Saint-Maur-les-Fossés, the sepulchre of a chief buried more than twenty-five centuries ago, with his wife, his horse, and his flint arms. These remains are deposited in the Museum of Cluny.

<sup>3</sup> I think however, that it is going too far to liken the Gallic clientship to the system of clans in Scotland in all respects. All the members of the latter claimed to be descended from a common ancestor, whereas in the latter there were many elements foreign to blood relationship. Thus Dumnorix gained clients daily by his liberalities. (Cæsar, *B. G.*, i. 18.)

clients proportionate to their birth and to their wealth." Some of these clients dedicated themselves to their chief for life and death. Among the Aquitani these devotees were called *soldurii*. "The *soldurii* enjoy all the good things of life with those to whom they have consecrated themselves by a friendly understanding; if the chief perishes they refuse to survive him, and slay themselves. It has never yet happened within the memory of man that one of those who had devoted themselves to a chief by such a compact refused to follow him in death."

But this custom of clientship had also its inconveniences; the chief must defend his clients and avenge wrong done to them, whence it resulted that each of these associations formed, as it were, a State within the State, and that the city was very often full of troubles. We have seen clientship at Rome, and it existed almost everywhere, because it is the first of social forms, the weak leaning upon the strong. But Roman discipline placed the city [or polity] above the clan, the citizen above the individual; that is why Rome became strong, whilst Gaul, which had only an imperfect knowledge of this great discipline of cities, remained weak.

The knights and their clients left but a very humble place for the free men, *plebs paene pro servo habetur*. The numbers of the latter however, constituted a force, and more than once changed the constitution of the State.<sup>1</sup>

The *elders* formed the council of the city, in which certain tribes did not allow two members of the same family to sit; above them was the king or a temporary chief, who might even be elected annually. Some words in the *Commentaries* would lead us to think that in exceptional circumstances a general council of the whole of Gaul met together. The pervading divisions in the country do not allow the supposition of anything more than assemblies of confederate nations; yet the idea of a representative assembly of Gaul was in men's minds, at least in Cæsar's time, and answered to an obscure feeling of national unity.

In the assemblies, precautions were taken against hasty decisions. "In the cantons," says Cæsar, "which are considered

<sup>1</sup> See in the following chapter what is related of Orgetorix, Ambiorix, Vercingetorix, etc.

the best administered, it is a sacred law that he who learns any news of interest to the city should immediately inform the magistrate of it without communicating with any other person, experience having shown that imprudent and unenlightened men are often alarmed by false reports, take extreme courses, and even proceed to crimes. The magistrates conceal what they consider proper, and only reveal to the multitude what they think good for them to know. It is only in the assembly that public affairs are discussed."

To maintain order there the Gauls had established a singular custom. If any one interrupted the orator or attempted to speak out of his turn a lappel of his mantle was cut off. In councils of war other customs existed; anyone too corpulent to wear a standard girdle reserved for the purpose was punished with a fine, and whoever arrived last at a military trysting place was put to death; the latter no doubt, by keeping them long waiting, was looked upon as disloyal. The Romans had a similar custom; at the review of knights, anyone who was too corpulent was deprived of his horse by the censor, and relegated to a lower class;<sup>1</sup> the citizen who did not answer when his name was called for military service was sold.<sup>2</sup>

### III.—THE DRUIDS.

At first the Gauls worshipped the thunder, the stars, the ocean, rivers, lakes, the wind, forests, mountains and great oaks, that is to say the forces of nature, beliefs which, in all places, have formed the basis of primitive polytheism. Little by little the phenomena were personified: Kirk represented the terrible wind of the Rhone valley, the Mistral, which the Provençals still call by its Gallic name of Cers; Tarann was the spirit of the thunder; Bel, the god of the sun; Pennin, the genius of the Alps; Arduin, of the immense forest of the Ardennes, etc.

Still later the Gauls worshipped higher gods: Hesus, the first cause, "who ever springs up afresh;" Tentates, the orderer of the

<sup>1</sup> *Nimis pingui homini et corpulento.* (Aul. Gell., vii. 22.) The same was the case with him who presented himself with an ill-kept horse. (*Ibid.*, iv. 12 and 20.)

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *pro Cæcina*, 34.



world, "the father of the people;" Merenry, the inventor of arts and conductor of souls, whose Gallic name has disappeared; Camul, the fierce genius of war, "the master of the brave"; Borvo, the god who heals;<sup>1</sup> Ogmios, the god of poetry and eloquence, who was represented with chains of gold and amber issuing from his

mouth to seize and carry away those who heard him; the goddess Epona, protectress of horses and horsemen, so numerous in Gaul; the mother-goddesses, ancestresses of the *Good People* and *Fairies* of the Middle Ages, etc.

The druid, the minister of these divinities, was at once the interpreter of the will of heaven and of the secrets of the earth. He was priest and sorcerer; himself deluded, and deluding others. This is the usual state of religions and priesthoods in all barbarous ages. When there is no science to explain phenomena, they assume a supernatural character, of which the priest alone can give an account, and which he alone appears able to control. Hence his power,

which he strengthened by an imposing and terrible form of worship,



Tarann.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Romans likened him to Apollo, the great healer-god, and he was highly honoured at the thermæ, three of which have retained his name. He also gave it to one of the branches of the house of Capet, the Bourbons.

<sup>2</sup> Gaidoz, *Réligion gaul.*, pl. i. The hammer which the god holds is the sign of the thunder-bolt.

and by teaching which kept the worshippers under his moral sway.<sup>1</sup>

Every year, during the night of the first of May, the radiant return of the sun, or Bel, was celebrated by great bonfires kindled upon the heights. The feast of Teutates was celebrated in the forests by torchlight on the first night of the new year. There was gathered the mistletoe, but it seldom grows upon the oak, the tree venerated by the Druids, and this rarity caused it to be prized. When on the sixth day of the last moon of winter (in February or March) the priests had at length found the plant spreading its green over the stripped boughs of some oak—an image of life issuing from the midst of dead nature, the people flocked round the sacred tree. The chief of the Druids, clothed in white, cut with a golden sickle the holy plant, which possessed medicinal and magic virtues. This custom, like many others of that time, left behind it deep traces, which are found up to the present day.

Other sacred herbs possessed marvellous virtues, but, after the oak and mistletoe nothing was so powerful as the egg of a serpent.<sup>2</sup> The Druids wore it hung about their necks richly set, sold it at very high prices.

The Druids never wrote anything, and the songs of the bards of ancient days died with them. But in one corner of England and one of France their memory has been preserved: Wales and Armorica have long had their national singers, the heirs of the

<sup>1</sup> Whence came the Druids? The Celts of Spain, of Gallia Cisalpina, of the Danube valley and Galatia, and even those of Gallia Narbonensis had none. Beyond Gaul they are found only in Britain and Ireland, and Cæsar thought the great island had been the chief home of Druidic knowledge. To account for this fact an explanation offers, but it is a merely hypothetical one. The primitive Aryans had their *shamans*, who, more fortunate than their Siberian successors, gained brilliant successes, like the Brahmins in India, the Magi in Persia, and the Druids among the Celts. These druids, who had set out with the first Celtic bands, arrived with them in the extreme west, in Britain, where in their insular isolation, and under the influence of favourable circumstances, or of some superior man, their institution developed till it was at last strong enough to make the religious conquest of a part of Gaul. The *shamans* of the other Celtic tribes, who remained in the state of obscure and powerless sorcerers, must have escaped the notice of history.

<sup>2</sup> This supposed serpent's egg, which in Claudian's reign cost a Roman knight his life, appears to have been a fossil sea-urchin, very frequently found in secondary and tertiary deposits. The traces of this superstition are not yet extinct in the mountains of Scotland. Glass balls, called serpent's teeth, are still worn, as the Druids wore them, on their necks. Hence too, there no doubt came the use of those ivory and amber necklaces which nurses place round children's necks, to help on, as they say, their teething.

Celtic bards, of their tongue and their traditions. It has been thought possible to recover from these Welsh and Breton poems, especially the former, the ancient spirit of the Druids, and with these songs of a comparatively modern epoch, a whole system of metaphysics has been reconstructed. I fear the Druids have got credit for more than they deserve.<sup>1</sup> Human sacrifices stained with blood the rough altars which the Druids raised in the midst of wild lands and in the thickest parts of primeval forests. Great woods have a dark and gloomy majesty which predisposes to fear. The Druids declared that there were the gods greedy for human blood.

“The Gauls,” says Cæsar, “are very superstitious; those who are attacked by serious illnesses, as well as those who live amid warfare and dangers, immolate human victims, or make a vow to immolate them, and for these sacrifices they have recourse to the ministration of the Druids, without whom no sacrifice can be offered. They believe that the life of a man is necessary to redeem that of another man, and that the immortal gods can only be appeased at that price; and they have even established public sacrifices of this description. They sometimes have figures of men of immense size, made of plaited osiers, the interior of which they fill with living men; they set fire to this and make their victims perish in the flames. They think that the death of those who have been convicted of theft, robbery, or any other crime, is most pleasing to the immortal gods; <sup>2</sup> but when such men are lacking they take the innocent.” The manner in which the victim fell, the convulsions of his death-pangs, and the colour of his blood were so many signs whereby the sacrificer recognized the will of the gods. The Greeks held the same belief when they desired to kill Iphigenia, and when Achilles slew his captives on the tomb

<sup>1</sup> Sharon Turner, the great historian of the Anglo-Saxons, had at the commencement of this century affirmed the authenticity of the Welsh poems of the Middle Ages, and thereafter none ventured to doubt it. M. de la Villemarqué has also, through his *Barzaz-Breiz*, made the popular songs of our Brittany widely known. But the authenticity of the Welsh poems has been energetically attacked by Mr. Nash in his *Taliessin* (1858, p. 119-21), and that of the songs in *Barzaz Breiz* by M. Luzel, and in the *Revue celtique* of M. Gaidoz (vol. ii. p. 44-70). Though M. de la Villemarqué's book is no longer a historical one, it retains a great charm as a literary work.

<sup>2</sup> Even in the last century, baskets were thrown into the fire, in which the men were replaced by cats, foxes, or wolves. (Gaidoz, *Religion des Gaulois*.)

of Patroclus; the Romans when they buried Gauls alive in the Forum, or made gladiators fight round a tomb. According to the testimony of Greek and Latin antiquity, the Druids taught that punishments and rewards awaited man in a future life. "They try to persuade men," says Cæsar, "that souls do not perish, and that after death they pass into another body; a belief which is peculiarly fitted to inspire courage by driving away the fear of death."

Metempsychosis is a Pythagorean idea with which the Greeks had supplied the Gauls, and of which a few Hellenising Druids must have boasted to Cæsar. Nothing in fact authorizes the belief that these priests had a creed touching death more definite than that of the Romans. But their funeral ceremonies prove a faith in a life beyond the grave far more earnest than the dim belief of the Latins in the sad existence of the manes. Horace, the epicurean, who ceaselessly repeats, "Enjoy quickly, lose not a moment, for death draws near," thought this Gaul that had no dread of funeral ceremonies, *Non parentis funera Gallia*—very fierce. The West has never seen any nation that thought less of life or encountered steel with less fear in fight, in duels, in the voluntary immolation of victims for sacrifices, and even at festivals. Death was to them but a dark and narrow passage beyond which they saw the light.

"The dust of the ancients shall spring to life again," said Merlin, the enchanter in the sixth century of our era. As a sign of this renewal of life, on the night of the first of November the Druids extinguished all the fires. The earth, plunged in darkness and silence, seemed dead. Suddenly upon the highest hill a brilliant fire shone forth, the flame on domestic hearths was rekindled from the national fire, and the people broke forth into songs of gladness; life resumed possession of the world.

In this same night Samhan, the judge of the dead, had seated himself on his throne far away in the west to judge the souls of those who had died during the year. They came in from all parts of Great Gaul to the extremity of Armorica, to the foot of the promontory of Plogoff where the sea utters its everlasting plaint. "The dwellers on this shore," says the poet Claudian, "hear the shades arrive wailing; they see the pale phantoms of



the dead pass by." At the solemn hour of night, when legends say that coffins open and those who are no more reappear, the fishermen of the coast heard a rapping at their door and found their barks laden with invisible passengers. As soon as they had set the sail and fixed the helm they were carried away by an unknown force which in a few minutes bore the skiff to the shores of the isles of Prydain. The bark immediately grew lighter, and the mariner could return to his home; the souls had departed.

But they would return to fulfil a second existence, better and more complete than the first. Death was but the middle of life. "Do you not know," the ancient bard Gwene'hlan<sup>1</sup> is made to say, "that every man must die three times before resting for ever?" Thus the druid would recommence his life of meditation and study in order to know more; thus the hero would live again to avenge his people. Did not the Welsh await the return of Arthur for five hundred years?

The Druids formed, not an hereditary caste, but a clergy recruited from the most able men, with a supreme pontiff, councils, and the terrible weapon of excommunication. Their chief possessed an unlimited authority. "At his death the most eminent in dignity succeeds him; or if several have equal claims, the election takes place by the vote of the Druids, and the office is sometimes disputed in arms. At a certain period of the year all the Druids assemble in a consecrated place on the frontier of the country of the Carnutes (Chartres), which is supposed to be the central point of Gaul. Thither repair from all parts those who have any differences; and they conform to the judgments and decisions of the Druids.

"In certain cantons the Druids are still the judges of the people. When a private citizen or a public man does not defer to their decision, they forbid him the sacrifices; this is the rarest punishment among them. Those who incur this interdict are accounted impious and criminal; everyone withdraws from them; their presence and conversation are avoided, as though men feared the contagion of the evil with which they are struck. All access to justice is refused them, and they have no consideration.

<sup>1</sup> One of the bards of *Barzaz-Breiz*. (See p. 115, note 1.)

“The Druids do not go to war, and pay no taxes. Enticed by such great privileges many Gauls join them of their own accord, or are sent to them by their kindred. There, it is said, they learn a great number of verses. There are some who pass twenty years in this training. It is not allowed to commit these verses to writing, and yet in most public and private affairs they make use of the Greek letters. There are, it appears to me, two reasons for this custom—one is to prevent their knowledge being spread among the vulgar, the other, lest their disciples, trusting to writing, should neglect their memory. The movement of the stars, the immensity of the universe, the greatness of the earth, the nature of things, the strength and power of the immortal gods, such are the subjects of their discussions.” Nevertheless, the known facts of Gallic history do not afford even a hint of the political power which Cæsar assigns to them. We are, therefore, tempted to think that the information furnished by his principal agent in Gaul, the druid Divitiac, an imaginative and rather unscrupulous man, applied if at all, not to the present, but to a distant past, which his vanity held up as full of the might and majesty of his order.

Of Cæsar’s just quoted words we must however, retain what concerns the singular constitution of this great sacerdotal body. It contrasts with all the institutions of Græco-Latin antiquity. At Rome the priest and the magistrate were one; Cæsar held the pontificate at the same time as the proconsular authority; in Gaul the military and religious chiefs were distinct. A veritable clergy held sway there, and, by a system of education such as was elsewhere unknown to the ancients, they must have exercised a powerful influence over men’s minds. But when it is inferred that the Catholic Church has had a greater hold on nations whose ancient religious organization was so like what Christianity brought them, the fact is overlooked that this organization was already gone in the first century of our era, and that there remained nothing of Druidism but those superstitious beliefs which so long survive dethroned religions. Between the reign of the priests of Hesus and those of Jesus Christ, there must be placed three centuries of pagan rule. Moreover, it does not appear that Christianity was established either more quickly or more firmly in

Gaul than in lands which had never known Druidism, like Italy and Spain.

In conjunction with the order of Druids are found bards, diviners, and prophetesses. The latter, dreaded enchantresses, lived on wild rocks lashed by the stormy sea.

The *ovates*, or diviners, were charged with all the material part of the worship. It was they who sought the revelation of the future in the entrails of victims and the flight of birds. A Gaul never accomplished any important act without having recourse to the divining science of the *ovate*.

As long as the power of the Druids was uncontested the bards were the sacred poets called in at all religious ceremonies. But after the military chiefs had freed themselves from the dominion of the priests, the bards celebrated the powerful and the rich. From being the singers of gods and heroes they became the courtiers of men.

#### IV.—THE SO-CALLED DRUIDIC MONUMENTS.

In a great number of our western provinces there are found strange monuments; *peulvens* or *menhirs* (*men*, a stone; *hir*, long), enormous blocks of rough stone planted in the earth separately or ranged in avenues, *cromlechs*, or *menhirs*, placed either in a single circle or in several concentric circles around a higher *menhir*. Within these religious precincts were deposited the trophies of victories, the national standards, and even the treasures taken from the enemy, the guardianship of which was in later times confided to consecrated ponds<sup>1</sup> and woods. The *dolmens*, formed of one or several great flat stones placed horizontally upon several vertical stones, were sepulchral chambers, sometimes covered over with earth, which contained the remains of some famous chief. At the foot of one of the dolmens in the neighbourhood of Sammur a skeleton was discovered with a stone knife in its side. Was it the warrior who fell in battle or a victim immolated at the funeral sacrifice? Some of these monuments are as much as seven and a half yards long and the same in breadth.

<sup>1</sup> See B. Fillon, *Objets trouvés dans l'étang de Nesmy*, 1879.



In the *dolmens* are found implements of stone, sometimes of bronze or gold, very rarely of iron. The *palafittes* or huts built upon piles belong to the same age; they contain objects of bone and stone identical with those of the dolmens, but, in addition to these, woven fabrics, and in the vessels which have fallen from the huts to the bottom of the water, grains of wheat, barley, and oats, peas and lentils, a proof that these hunters also knew how to cultivate the ground.



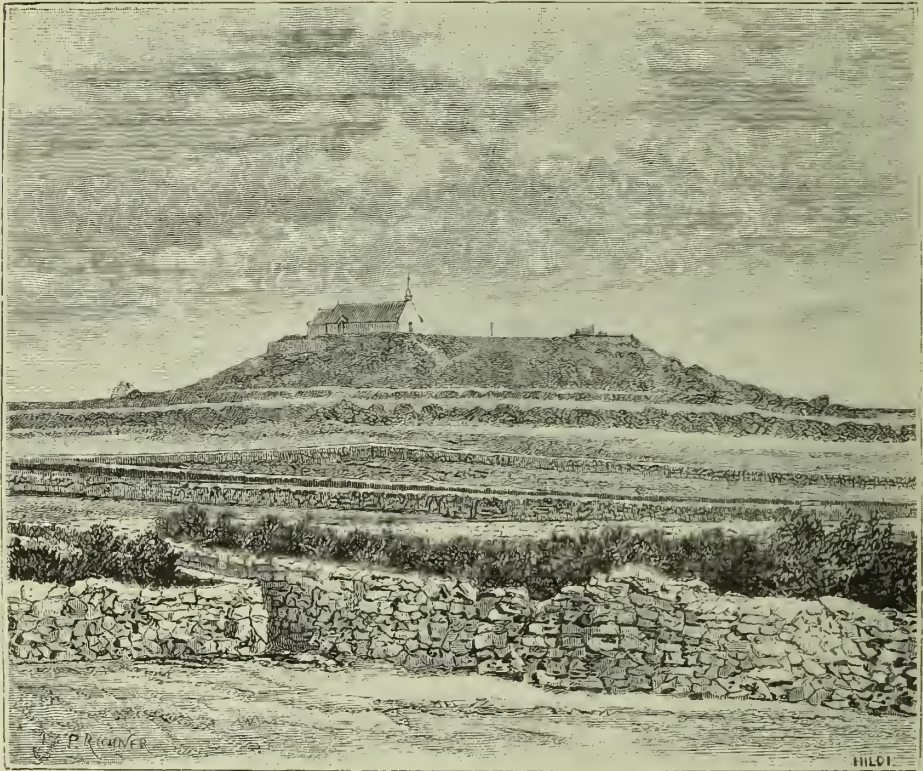
The Roche-aux-Fées at Korkoro, near Carnac.

They knew little or nothing of the metals, which on the other hand abound in the tumuli. These latter tombs which contain a great many objects of bronze and iron have only very few flint ones; and their pottery, less rude than that in the dolmens, is decorated with lozenge and dog-tooth patterns, which remind one of the ornamentation of the most ancient vases of Cisalpine Gaul. The east of Gaul was in advance of the west, and



this was natural: the radiation of Greek and Italian civilization had penetrated thither more easily.<sup>1</sup>

The most celebrated megalithic monuments are in Brittany and Anjou.<sup>2</sup> The lines of Carnac<sup>3</sup> formed ten alleys, having altogether a breadth of from one hundred to one hundred and ten yards, and a length more than two and a half miles. Up to the present day they have served as a racecourse for the inhabitants of the



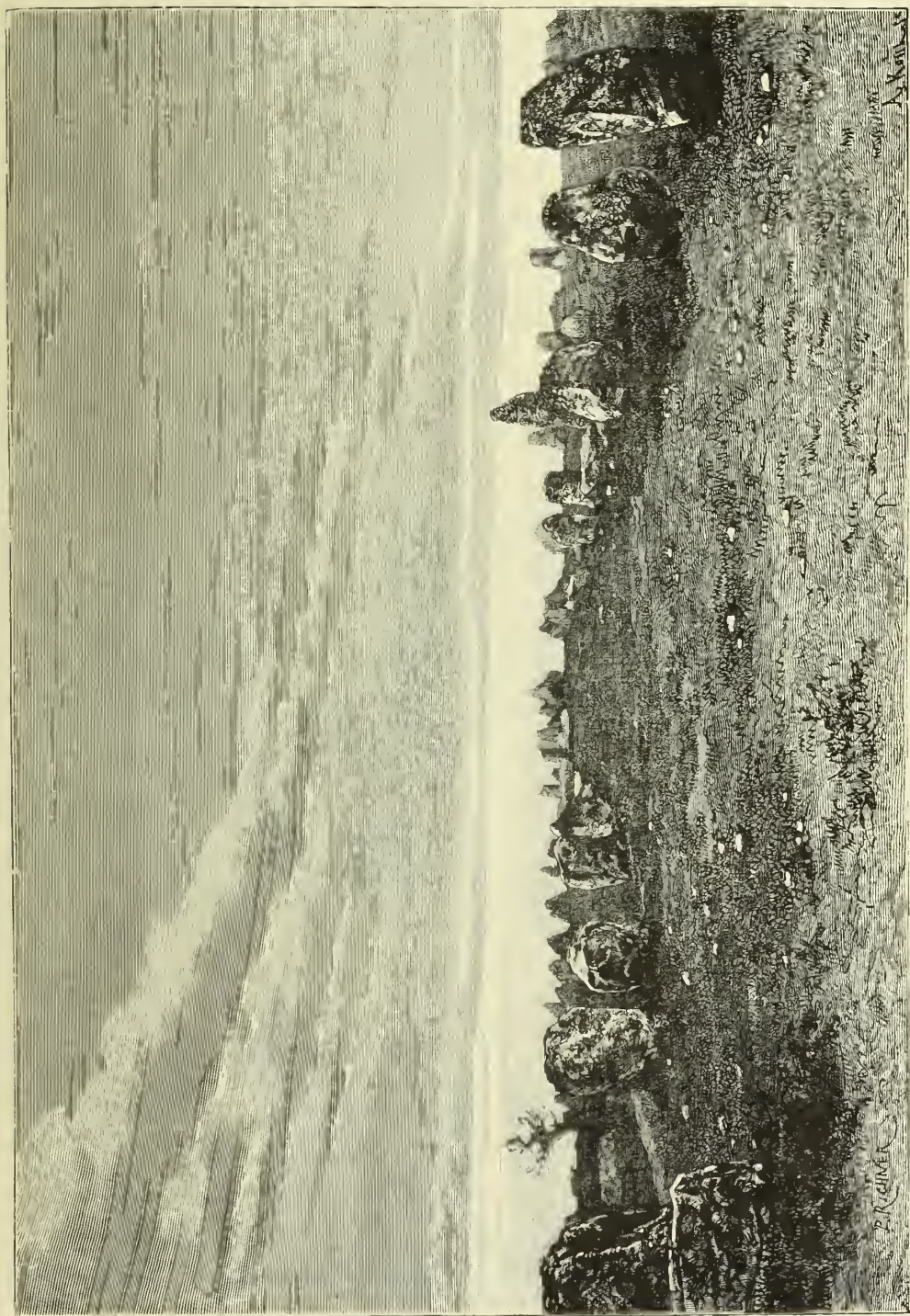
Mount St. Michael at Carnac (Tumulus).

neighbourhood. When they were entire they numbered from eight to ten thousand stones, some of which rise to a height of fifteen or twenty feet above the ground, and many are placed with the

<sup>1</sup> See the curious map of *dolmens* and tumuli drawn up by M. A. Bertrand.

<sup>2</sup> A menhir of granite in Belle-Isle and the one in the island of Hoëdic were carried from the coast, which is sixteen miles distant. On reading the description given further on of the great vessels of the Veneti, it will be understood how the Gauls managed to transport such masses across the sea.

<sup>3</sup> Carnac, in the Breton language, signifies *the place of rocks*. The drawing which we give on p. 115 was made by P. Richner from his picture in the Museum of Saint-Germain.



Lines of Carnac (View taken from Ker-Mario).





thin end downwards. They look like an army of giants. The *Rocking-Stone* of Perros-Guyrech (Côtes-du-Nord), forty-six feet long by twenty-three broad, is so perfectly balanced that a single man can set it rocking, in spite of its weight of five hundred tons.

On the moor of Upper Brambien there may still be counted nearly two thousand menhirs, standing or overturned.

At Lock-Maria-Ker are the *King of menhirs*, the Merchant's Table, and the covered alley of Mané-Lud. The King of menhirs, was a block larger than the obelisk on the Place de la Concorde at Paris. Unfortunately it has been overthrown, and lies on the



Pottery of the Dolmens (Museum of Saint-Germain).

ground broken into four pieces; in its unbroken state it was seventy-two feet in length, and must have weighed 250 tons. By what means did these barbarians move such masses, which are enough to baffle our own mechanical arts?

In other places there are barrows like that in the peninsula of Rhuys, in the department of Morbihan, which is 100 feet high and 350 round the base. Beneath this artificial mountain, as in the sepulchral chambers of the Egyptian pyramids, a skeleton was found, probably that of a religious chief. The first inhabitants of Gaul condemned themselves to immense labours to honour gods of



whom we no longer know anything, and dead men whose names lived but a day.

These strange monuments sometimes bear rough carvings and various signs: crescents are seen on them, round hollows arranged in circles, spirals, figures which perhaps represent stone axes, intertwined serpents or trees. They look like the fantastic tattooing of savages applied to granite.

The monuments called druidic were raised before the arrival of the Druids in Gaul or before the period of their power: they



Gallic Vases in Terra-cotta (Cemeteries of the Marne, in the Museum of Saint-Germain).

belong to the first Celtic population who long continued to erect them. These colossal stones, set up either as land-marks, or in memory of men, or in homage to the gods, are the most ancient monumental manifestation of human force, not only among the Gauls, but everywhere. The *Iliad* and the Bible make mention of them, Abyssinia possessed some; Egypt made her obelisks and her pyramids of them; the Scandinavian countries are full of them; they are found in the Caucasus, in Arabia, in Easter Island, lost in the immensity of the Pacific Ocean, and even on







the coast of Greenland. The ruins of Kandy, in the island of Ceylon, are so similar to those of Anglesey in England, that they might be mistaken for them; a complete circle of druidic stones exists at Darab, in Persia, and America has the *chalpas* of Peru and Bolivia, and the mounds of Ohio and Mississippi; it is the architecture of primitive humanity, and it marks a stage of culture through which at very various epochs ancient communities have passed.

Many ancient nations formed their first altars and the most



The Merchant's Table at Lock-Maria-Ker.

ancient monuments of their piety towards the gods, or of their gratitude towards men, out of great heaps of earth or unhewn stones such as nature provided. The greater the effort, the heavier the stone, the more satisfied they thought the deity ought to be. Between the huge lines of Carnac and the magnificence of the Parthenon there is a great distance, but the idea is the same; only that the Gauls did not shut up the deity within narrow walls, they gave him temples with the sky for their roof.

The respect for the druidic stones resisted the reiterated prohibitions of councils to "pray or light torches before the stones," and it is not yet extinct everywhere. Some Bas-Bretons



still attribute supernatural virtues to them. In Normandy, on some watch-nights in winter, people talk, or quite lately used to talk, of *turning* stones, which on Christmas night, at midnight, turned completely round.<sup>1</sup> In other places certain customs were connected with them. It is not long since the women of Croisic ceased to go and dance round the huge menhir, and others



Covered Alley of Mané-Lud at Lock-Maria-Ker (p. 117).

scratched the druidic stones with the idea that the dust would make them fruitful. At Guérande a maiden who wished to get married went and deposited in the clefts of a dolmen flocks of pink wool tied up with tinsel; at Colombiers she mounted upon the raised stone, placed a piece of money there, and must then jump down all alone. These monuments, round which terrible scenes have taken place, no longer hear aught but maidens' vows.

<sup>1</sup> The councils of Arles (in 452), Tours (in 567), Nantes (in 700), etc. (Cf. *Cours d'antiquités monumentales*, by M. de Caumont, p. 119.) On closing this chapter I must thank M. Al. Bertrand, who with great kindness placed at my disposal the riches of the Museum of Saint-Germain and his own profound knowledge of Celtic and Roman Gaul.







## CHAPTER LIV.

### THE GALLIC WAR.

#### I.—GAUL IN THE TIME OF CÆSAR.

IN the middle of the century preceding the Christian era many of the old things we have spoken of in ancient Gaul had changed. The chiefs of the tribes and nobles had thrown off the yoke of the sacerdotal class. The druidic order, which was then decaying, did not play the part of a national clergy during the war of liberty; one druid, Divitiacus, was even the guide and friend of Cæsar. The aristocracy had in its turn found two powerful enemies. Some of its own number, the cleverest and bravest, had united several tribes and caused themselves to be proclaimed kings. At other points the inhabitants of the towns had risen, and the Druids uniting with the rebels against the nobles who had dispossessed them, had attempted to abolish the aristocratic or royal government, and to replace it by a democratic one, more or less mixed with the former elements. In one canton it was the notables, *principes*, and the priests who, having constituted themselves a senate, appointed the *vergobret*, an annual judge, who pronounced for life or death,<sup>1</sup> and in case of need was the leader in war; in another the people had instituted a senate or magistrates, and sometimes a king, who remained dependent upon the public assembly.<sup>2</sup> Cæsar relates that after his victory over the Helvetii, the chiefs of almost all the cities, *principes civitatum*, came and asked him to authorize them to assemble the council of Gaul.<sup>3</sup> We have already said what must be thought about these general assemblies.

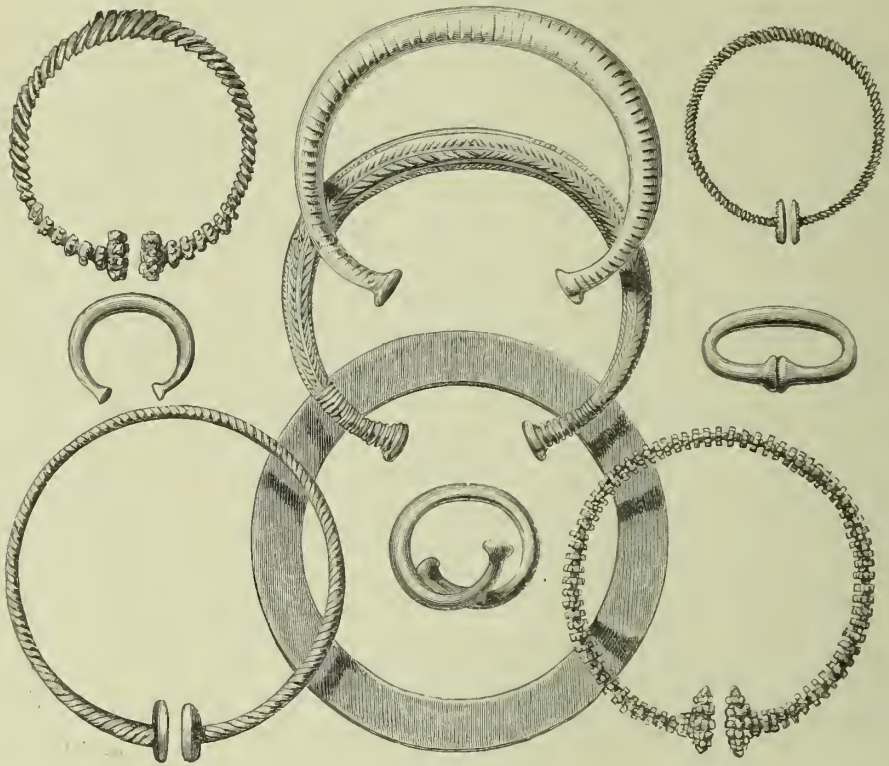
<sup>1</sup> *Vita necisque in suos habet potestatem.* (*de Bell. Gall.*, i. 16.)

<sup>2</sup> Each tribe of the Galatæ, in Asia Minor, had also a chief and a senate of 300 members. (*Strabo*, xii. 5, 1.)

<sup>3</sup> . . . . *Concilium totius Gallie.* (*de Bell. Gall.*, i. 30; see p. 105.)



Thus while Rome was overpowering the Gallic colonies in Italy and Asia Minor, Great Gaul was rending herself with her own hands, instead of organizing and uniting. No principle of government had prevailed, neither royalty, nor the aristocracy, nor the clergy. That is why Gaul lay open to invaders, on the north to the Belgæ and Germans, on the south to the Roman legions. Amid this chaos however, some powerful States had been formed. These were the tribes which, being more numerous than their



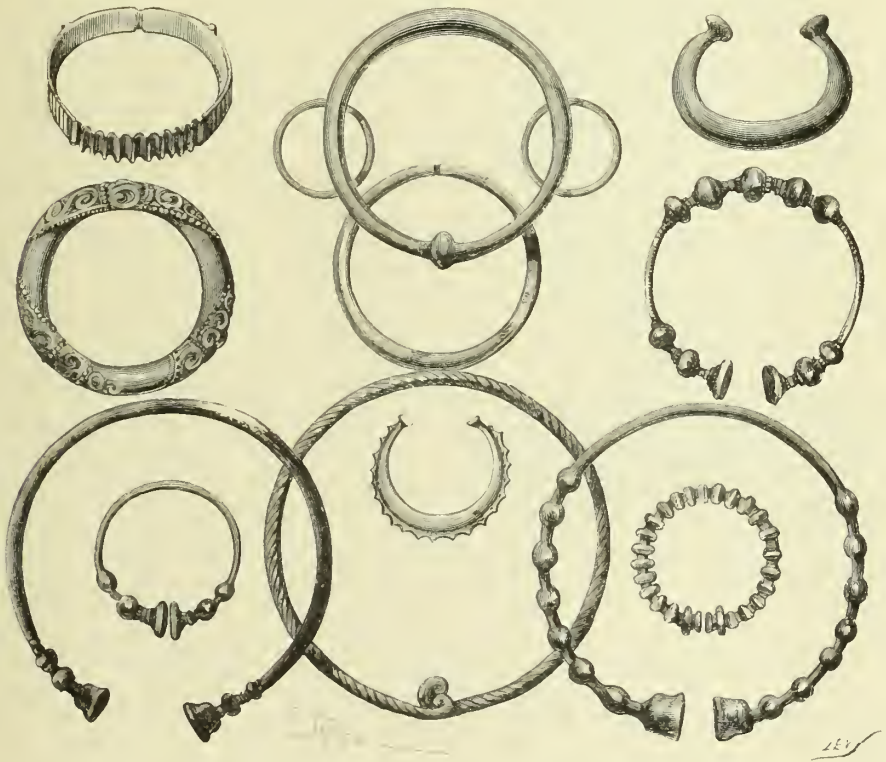
Golden *Torques*<sup>1</sup> (Museum of Saint-Germain).

neighbours, had reduced them to dependence. As free men entered the clientship of the great, so the small tribes had become, by choice or force, clients of the more powerful, without parting with their internal liberty, and hence there resulted great confederations, which embraced vast portions of the Gallic territory. According to Strabo's account the Arverni extended their sovereignty over the

<sup>1</sup> All these golden and bronze *torques* and bracelets come from tumuli, and are in the Museum of Saint-Germain. (See too, *Dict. archéol.*, vol. ii., part i., figs. 1 to 8.)

whole of Gaul, a dominion which must be reduced to more modest proportions.

These nations were ill acquainted with the municipal system which brought about the greatness of the Græco-Italians and the civilization of the world. The social form which most prevailed amongst them was that of the clan or tribe. The confederations just spoken of were however, a first attempt at general organization. By spreading, and uniting with one another, they might have

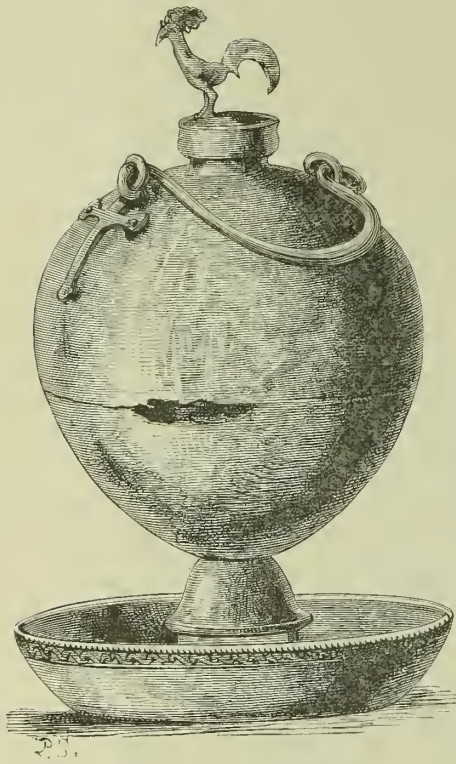


*Bronze Torques* (Museum of Saint-Germain).

given peace to the land and secured its independence. Unhappily the perception of the common peril broke upon them too late, and the whole of Gaul united for once, only to fall beneath the sword of Cæsar.

Though it could not yet be looked upon as a civilized land, the country had emerged from barbarism. Its tribes were no longer mere hordes of hunters wandering about at random, but societies settled upon the soil, whereon their hands and intelligence

were already at work. They had organized finances, custom-duties, and taxes of various kinds.<sup>1</sup> Caesar contrasts the wealth of Gaul with the poverty of Britain and Germany, and he drew sufficient riches from it to buy the Roman people.



Bronze Vase surmounted by a Cock <sup>2</sup> (Museum of Saint-Germain).

In his time the Gauls were acquainted with the art of working mines, and they carried it on very actively. The Ædui had manufactories for gold and silver, the Aquitani for copper, and the Bituriges for iron. This latter nation had even discovered the art, which had remained traditional among them and their neighbours the Arverni, of plating with tin or white lead. The Ædui had invented plating and silvering; they thus ornamented the bits and harness of their horses. The chariot of king Bituitus was silvered, or perhaps even covered with silver plates. The chiefs wore iron coats of mail, a recent Gallic invention,

and sometimes even a gilded cuirass, and our collections contain a quantity of arms, implements, collars (*torques*, pp. 122—123),

<sup>1</sup> . . . . *Dumnorigem . . . . portoria reliquaque omnia Æduorum vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habere.* (*de Bell. Gall.*, i. 18.) The taxes were even extremely heavy; . . . . *Cum magnitudine tributorum premuntur.* (*Ibid.*, vi. 13.) The Veneti exacted dues from all who desired to make use of their ports (*ibid.*, iii. 8), the Valaisi from the merchants who crossed the Great and Lesser St. Bernard, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The beautiful vase of Græckwyl, of which we give a representation in colours, was discovered in 1851 in a large tumulus, together with the remains of a chariot, two bronze buckles, and a funeral urn of terra-cotta. If it is not of Gallic manufacture, as the Etruscan or Oriental character of the raised work seems to indicate, it proves the existence of commercial relations with Marseilles, unless it reached the Helvetian chief in whose tomb it was buried as spoil of war. The winged deity placed in the centre of the ornamentation is surmounted by a bird in repose, and flanked by four lions and two hares. Above, the wings spread on each side a broad-headed serpent. The Rhodians of Camirus thus represented their Diana: the inhabitants of Santorin did likewise. (*Diet. arch. de la Gaule*, vol. i. pp. 461 sqq.)









P. SELLIER pinx<sup>t</sup>

Imp. Fraillery.

VASE FROM GRÆCKWYL

From the Museum of Saint-Germain



jewels, bronze vases, and enamelled objects manufactured by Gauls. They could weave and brocade stuffs, and their dyes were not without some reputation. To them have been attributed the invention of the wheeled plough, the harrow, the horse-hair sieve, and the use of marl and cinders for manure. They made various kinds of fermented drinks, such as beer and hydromel. From the

Gallic Coin.<sup>1</sup>Gallic Coin.<sup>2</sup>

froth of beer they made yeast or leaven for bread. Although they had little wine, they are said to have been the first to manufacture the casks suitable for preserving it, whereas the Romans still kept wine in leathern bottles or earthenware jars. The rearing of



Tetradrachm of Philip.



Gallic Imitation.

domestic animals was held in honour. Their horses and oxen were sought after in Italy, and Celtic slaves were renowned for skill in the stables and cattle-stalls. The Massaliotes, who were skilful in cultivating the vine and the olive, had taught some of their neighbours, and even the Helvetii, the use of Greek letters; the Arverni, bordering on Gallia Narbonensis, employed the Latin

<sup>1</sup> Laurel-crowned head, facing right. On the reverse, a horse, a hammer in front of the horse's chest; underneath, a vase or lamp. (*Dict. archéol.*, vol. ii., part i., No. 286.) Both coins bear the same stamp on the reverse, but the obverse of the one is barbarous, while upon the other the influence of Marseilles is observable.

<sup>2</sup> Bust on the obverse. On the reverse, a horse driven by a wild boar; underneath, an arrow fitted to a bow. (*Dict. arch.*, vol. ii., part i., No. 288.)

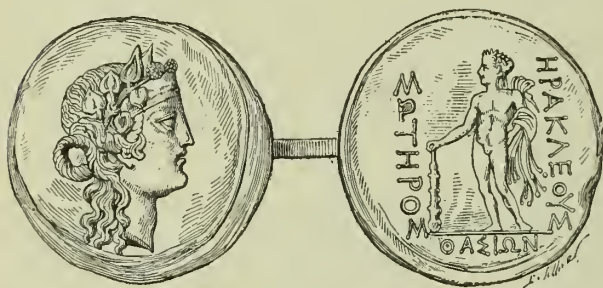
<sup>3</sup> Laurel-crowned head of Jupiter. On the reverse, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, a Macedonian warrior on horseback bearing a palm; underneath, a bunch of grapes. The comparison of these four coins shows the difference between the two civilizations, Greek and Gallic, and the effort, at first unsuccessful, made by the one to imitate the other. The Gallic coins departed more and more from their models.



alphabet. We possess a great number of Gallic coins; on many of them is seen a horse without bridle or a wild boar, the double symbol of liberty and war.

Their monetary system was the same as that of the Gauls of the Danube, who after the pillage of Greece had copied the magnificent staters of Philip II., of Thasos, etc.; in their unskilled hands the design had lost its beauty. A sufficiently great number of these Macedonian pieces however, had found their way into Great Gaul to lead to the establishment of several coining-places, which produced some curious types, whereon the vanity of the chiefs led them to have their portraits placed.<sup>1</sup>

The activity of their commerce explains the wealth of Gaul, and it was facilitated by the bridges thrown across the rivers, the solidly constructed roads, even across marshes,<sup>2</sup> a very active river navigation, and coined money which promoted exchange.



Tetradrachm of Thasos.<sup>3</sup>

The fine garnets which they found at the foot of several of their mountains were much sought after by the Greeks from the time of Alexander. The Sequani sent their salted provisions by the Saône and the Rhone to Marseilles, which distributed them through Italy and Greece, whither its mariners also bore the cheeses of the Cevennes and the Alps, the wines of Béziers and of the slopes of the Durance, and slaves who might sometimes be bought for an amphora of wine. In those days, with the immense demand for

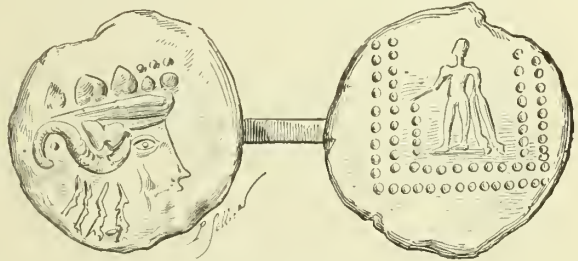
<sup>1</sup> Upon the numerous mines in Gaul, see Ern. Desjardins. (*Op. cit.*, i. pp. 409–433.) It has lately been discovered that tin was worked in Gaul in very early times, and digging for copper, silver, and gold was more actively carried on there than it is now. The ancients, having many slaves, employed them on works producing little profit, not sufficient to maintain our free labourers, and moreover, thanks to commerce, the rich lodes have caused the poor ones to be abandoned. Thus we see why Gaul was renowned for its wealth of precious metals and France is not.

<sup>2</sup> There still exist remains of the Gallic high roads, and Cæsar speaks of bridges built upon the Aisne, the Seine, the Loire, the Allier, and even the Rhone.

<sup>3</sup> Head of Bacchus. On the reverse, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΑΣΙΩΝ; Hercules stands, leaning on his club, holding the skin of the Nemean lion.

slaves that existed among civilized nations, man was the commodity most in request, the one which could always be disposed of quickly and advantageously, and Gaul furnished a great deal of this merchandise. It also exported coarse cloths and black pottery, and with the island of Britain it had frequent intercourse, the mart of which was Corbilo, on the north of the Loire. The Veneti around Morbihan even possessed a navy, which in certain respects was superior to those of the Romans and Greeks. For the oar, the motive power of war-fleets in classic times, they had substituted the sail, which allowed of distant voyages, and has been used up to our own days.

Towns multiplied and were surrounded with ramparts formed of several layers of trees and stones alternately, as was seen in the remains of the wall of Marseints. The trees roughly hewn into beams, each forty feet long, were held together by inner cross-beams. Fire had no effect upon the stones, and the battering-rams could do nothing against beams, the ends of which only they could reach. Julius Caesar admired this ingenious combination.



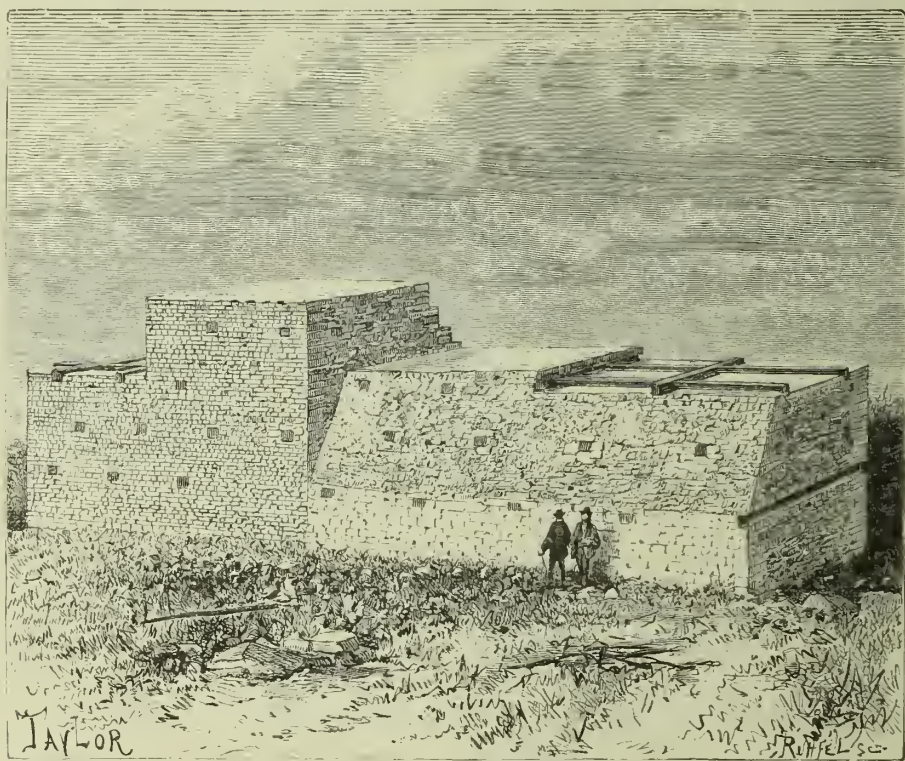
Gallic Imitation of a Coin of Thasos.

At Peran, near St. Brieuc, and elsewhere, there has even been found, a wall cemented with melted glass, a "glass castle," as it is called by the Scotch, who have seven or eight of these vitrified ramparts. The wonder was not difficult to carry into execution; layers of sand and bracken, with a great fire kept up for several days, would effect it. Some fire lighted on the strand had no doubt revealed to the Gauls how easily sand could be vitrified. Thus the Phœnicians [are said to have] discovered the art of making glass.

Gaul was developing alone and unaided. It was divided indeed, but less so than Greece and Italy had been, and the elements of strength and civilization were not wanting. Men have asked themselves what it would have become without the Roman conquest, whether the loss of its independence was a boon,

and finally, whether, beneath the pacific influence of the arts of Greece and Italy, there would not have issued from the Gallic constitutions a civilization more original and perhaps better than the one with which Rome inoculated it.

Doubtless it is a pity that Gaul did not reach the complete development of its national life, but it was impossible that it should do so. Placed between the Romans, who, in order to



*Oppidum of Mursceints*<sup>1</sup> (Restoration in Relief in the Museum of Saint-Germain), p. 127.

protect Italy, needed to have possession of the approaches, and the Germans, who have coveted Gaul for more than twenty centuries, this country could not fail to be the battlefield of the two hostile races. It was in Gaul that Marius had conquered the Teutons; it was there that Cæsar was about to fight Ariovistus; there too, that the emperors withstood invasions to the last days of the empire. The war which was about to commence was one of those historical fatalities over which thoughtful minds spent no

<sup>1</sup> Restoration of the Gallic wall, the remains of which were discovered in 1868.



vain regrets. "Since the rise of our empire," says Cicero, "there is no man who, having a clear view of the conditions of the existence of our Republic, has not thought that the Gauls constituted its greatest danger,"<sup>1</sup> and consequently, their subjection was a necessity for Rome.

We have seen that the Romans had commenced the conquest of the Transalpine country sixty years previously, and that the tribes settled between Geneva and Toulouse, and Toulouse and Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges had recognized the authority of the senate. From their great settlements of Narbo and Aquæ Sextiæ the Romans surveyed "long-haired" Gaul. They had humbled the powerful tribe of the Arverni by the defeat of Bituitus, and had granted the Ædui their interested protection.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, the fear or the confidence with which Rome inspired these two nations which surrounded the Province had allowed the government to impose all kinds of exactions upon them with impunity. When the Allobroges lost patience and rebelled, after the conspiracy of Catiline, they were crushed (61) without a single Gaul having drawn the sword for them. Indeed, the state of Gaul was not such that its tribes could devote themselves to a policy of war. Since the revolution which had overthrown the aristocratic forms of government, two parties had been formed in every city, in every town, and almost in every family. The new republics, too young for their liberty to be a peaceful one, were subject to all the storms raised by rival or dissatisfied ambitions. About the time of Cæsar's consulship a chief of the Arverni had perished at the stake for having attempted to re-establish the proscribed royal power,<sup>4</sup> and at the very time three nobles among the Helvetii, the Sequani, and the Ædui were plotting the overthrow of the democratic government. Moreover, all the tribes were rivals; every year war broke out at many points.<sup>5</sup> Proud of the



Coin of the Allobroges.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De Provinciis consularibus*, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Chamois and wheel. Reverse of a coin of the Allobroges. The coins of the Allobroges of the mountains have, like this one, a chamois stamped on them. The others, belonging to the Allobroges of the shores of Lake Leman have a hippocamp. (Note by M. de Sauley.)

<sup>3</sup> Dion, xxxvii. 47-48: Livy, *Epit.*, ciii.

<sup>4</sup> Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.*, vii. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Bellum incidit fere quotannis.* (Cæsar, *ibid.*, vi. 15.)



humiliation of the Arverni and of the title of allies of Rome, the Ædui had abused their power, and the fear inspired by the legions, to oppress their neighbours. Masters of the mid-course of the Loire through the fortified position of Noviodunum, and of



Diana found at Châlon.<sup>1</sup>

that of the Saône through Châlon and Mâcon, they had forbidden the Arverni the navigation of the first-named of these rivers, and took heavy toll of the goods that the Sequani sent to Marseilles by the other. Driven to extremities, these two nations had united, and, in order to make sure of the victory, had taken into their pay 15,000 Suevi, with their chief Ariovistus. The Ædui had been beaten and obliged to give hostages, but the Sequani had not had long to rejoice over their victory. Having come from the damp

forests and uncultivated lands of Germany, Ariovistus had refused to leave the beautiful country so imprudently laid open to him. Under various pretexts he sent for eight times as many warriors as he had promised, and he demanded for them a third of the territory of the Sequani. The Ædui and the Sequani, united by a common oppression, rose together against the German king. He

<sup>1</sup> Bronze statuette from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2957.

evaded their wrath by taking refuge beyond some marshes, tired out their patience, and then seized a favourable opportunity for overpowering them. Their defeat at the confluence of the Saône and Oignon rendered him more rapacious. He now wanted another third of the lands of the Sequani for 24,000 Harudes, his allies.

Coin of the Ædui.<sup>1</sup>

Against these rulers from the East the Gauls invoked those from the south. Divitiacus, one of the leading men of the Ædui, came to Rome to claim the protection so often promised to his brethren. The answer was long delayed. An unexpected event compelled the senate to pay more attention to these complaints. They learned that the Helvetii, tired of the continual incursions of the Suevi, intended to set forth to seek on the shores of great Ocean a less severe climate and a more tranquil life. But with their allies of the right bank of the Rhine the Helvetii formed a mass of nearly 400,000 souls,<sup>3</sup> and they intended taking the road through the Province. There was a double danger for Rome in this project; Helvetia when deserted would be occupied by the Suevi, whose proximity was to be dreaded, and in traversing Gaul these 400,000 emigrants must cause disorders there, the consequences of which could not be foreseen. Moreover, one of their chiefs, Orgetorix, hoped that under cover of these movements he would be able to recover the royal authority which his forefathers had exercised. Casticus, of the Sequani, and Dumnorix of the Ædui, were initiated into his schemes, and were to second him and to

Orgetorix.<sup>2</sup>Coin of Dumnorix.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Silver coin of the Ædui; a bear.

<sup>2</sup> Bust of Diana with a necklace of pearls and her quiver on her shoulder: the word EDVIS recalls the alliance between the Ædui and the Helvetii attested by Cæsar. On the reverse, a bear, which Berne has retained in its arms. Silver denarius. We have borrowed from M. de Sauley (*Numismatiques des chefs gaulois*) all the coins given in our narrative of the Gallic wars.

<sup>3</sup> According to the registers, kept in the Greek language, which Cæsar found in their camp, the emigrants numbered 368,000, of whom 92,000 were fighting men. (*Bell. Gall.*, i. 29.)

<sup>4</sup> Dumnorix or Doubnorix. Head with the hair in great locks and with the *torques*. On the reverse, a horse galloping. (De Sauley, *Numismatique*, etc., No. 9.)

receive from him the support necessary to effect the same revolution in their own country; then this barbaric trimvirate was to subdue the whole of Gaul.<sup>1</sup> The plans of Orgetorix were discovered; but the death of that chieftain did not divert the nation from the projected plan of emigration. At Rome a well-grounded alarm prevailed, for men called to mind the part which the Helvetii had taken in the invasion of the Cimbri forty years previously. Three senators were despatched to Gaul with a *senatus-consultum*, giving the governor of Gallia Narbonensis unlimited power to do whatsoever he judged of use to the Republic, and to protect the allies of the Roman people. The Ædui, won over by this decree, undertook, with the aid of the Sequani, to close the passes of Mount Jura.

The Helvetii and their allies had allowed themselves three years to complete their preparations;<sup>2</sup> the third year fell in the proconsulship of Cæsar. Thus it was to him that this war fell, in execution of the senatorial decree of 61. With this in view, and in order to sow divisions among his enemies beforehand, he tried in the year 59 to gain Ariovistus to his side by bestowing on him the title of friend of the Roman people. The barbarian king did, in fact, promise to offer no obstacle to the plan decided upon against the Helvetii. During the course of March, 58 B.C., Cæsar set out for Gallia Narbonensis, one of his three provinces, and in eight days he reached Geneva. The Helvetii, in order to deprive themselves of all desire to return, had just burned their twelve cities and 400 villages; they had arranged to assemble on the banks of the Rhone on the 28th of March.

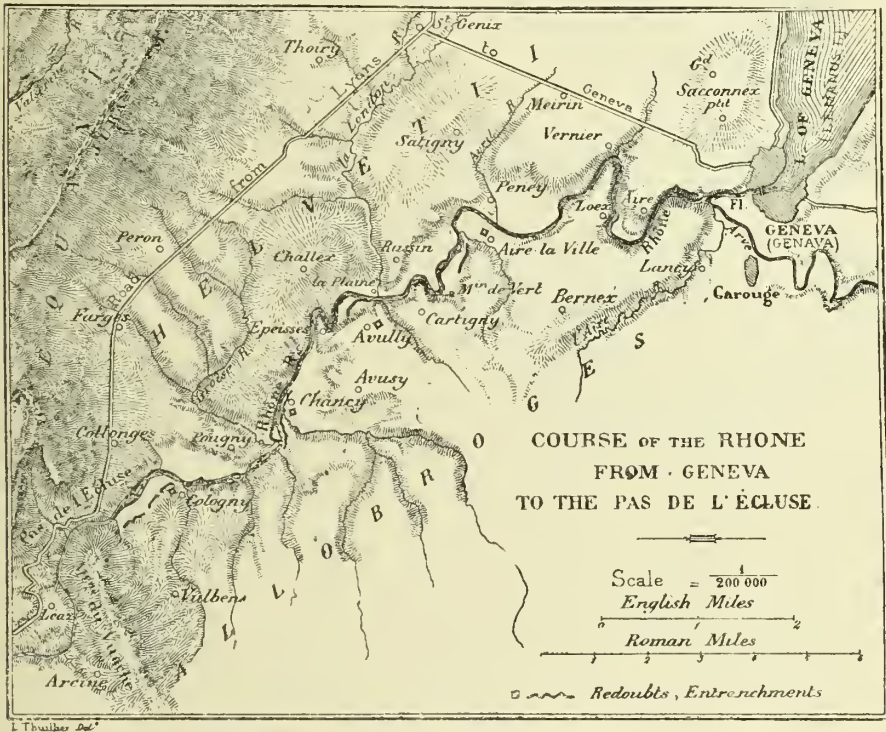
## II.—CÆSAR'S FIRST CAMPAIGN (58); VICTORIES OVER THE HELVETII AND ARIOVISTUS.

The Rhone, as it sweeps down from the Saint-Gothard, flows between two chains of lofty mountains as far as Lake Lemman, which is formed by it, and out of which it issues again at Geneva to dash itself a few leagues below that town against the Jura

<sup>1</sup> *Per tres potentissimos . . . Gallie totius sese potiri posse sperant.* (Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.*, i. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar, *ibid.*, i. 3; *in tertium annum.*

mountains and an outstanding buttress of the Alps called Mount Vuache. After a struggle in which the river finally triumphed, it has made a breach in the mountain, and it leaves Switzerland by a fearful defile which separates Franche-Comté from Savoy, the country of the Sequani from that of the Allobroges. To reach



Course of the Rhone, from Geneva to the Pas de L'Écluse.

the interior of Gaul there was no other way open to the Helvetii, unless they plunged into the ravines of the southern Jura, which were scarcely practicable for a migration of this kind, or crossed the Rhone at some point between Lake Lemanns and the mountains of the Allobroges. But Cæsar was at Geneva, and he had already broken down the bridge at that town. The Helvetii, hesitating to entangle themselves in the ravine of L'Écluse, where a few resolute men might stop an army, demanded of the proconsul a passage



Coin of the Allobroges.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hippocamp. Reverse of a silver coin of the Allobroges of Lake Lemann.



through the territory of the Allobroges. As he had as yet only one legion he postponed his answer till the 13th of April,



Cups of the Sequani and Remi, of Red Earthenware.<sup>2</sup>

thus giving himself a delay of fifteen days, of which he made good use. When the deputies reappeared they found that these few days had sufficed him to fortify all the easily accessible points on the left bank of the river, from the Jura to the corner of Lake Lemman, a distance of over sixteen miles.<sup>1</sup> Troops hurriedly brought from the Province lined the ramparts, and all the attempts of the barbarians to force a passage across the Rhone failed. They were obliged to fall back upon the Jura route. Dumnorix and Casticus obtained for them the consent of the Sequani, and paying no

heed to the refusal of the Ædui, the horde swept on towards the Saône, rejoiced at having left behind them those dangerous defiles.

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor Napoleon III., who had the ground carefully studied, does not think that Cæsar formed a continual entrenchment, as his words would indicate. (*de Bell. Gall.*, i. 8.) From a report drawn up by Baron Stoffel, who was sent by the emperor to make a survey of the place, it appears that the points fortified by Cæsar must have been: the first, below Aire-la-Ville; the second, to the north of Cartigny; the third, to the north-west of Avully; the fourth, below Chanas, on the two sides of the Laire, where it enters the Rhone; the fifth, between Coligny and Pas de l'Écluse. These works are the first examples of the lines of defence with which the empire was afterwards to protect every vulnerable part of its frontiers. At the present day there exists in this part of the course of the Rhone only one ford from Russin on the right, to Le Moulin de Vert on the left. The second volume of the *Vie de Cæsar* of Napoleon III. is the most complete commentary yet made upon Cæsar's book, thanks to the careful study of, or search for localities, to the numerous excavations ordered, and to the examination of every question of topography, archæology, military art, and science which the text affords.

<sup>2</sup> The cup of the Sequani was found at Geneva in 1862. (*Cf. Gazette arch.*, 1877, p. 179)

By his able strategy, and without losing a single man, Caesar had thus saved the Province from a dangerous invasion. The peril was thrown back on to the Ædui, but Caesar had already resolved to make use of the authority given by the senatus-



Map for the First Campaign of Caesar.

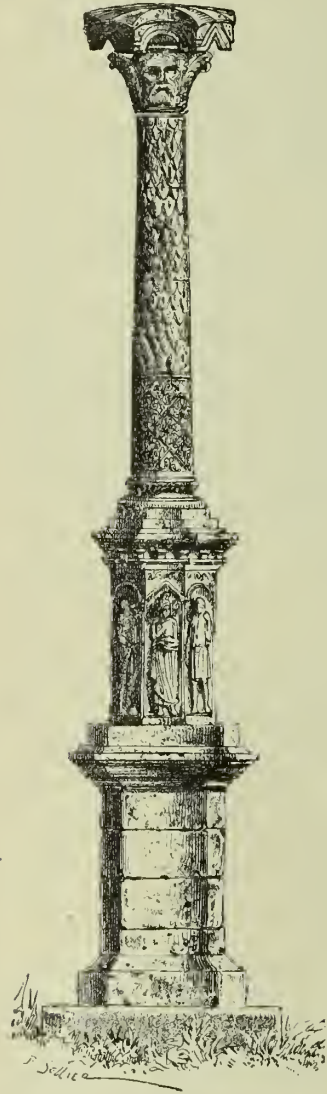
consultum of 61 B.C. to issue from his province and succour the allies of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

The march of the Helvetii was so slow that he had time to go to Italy for five legions, and return to find the barbarians still

and pl. 17.) With it we give that of the Remi, which is very much like it, and a transcript of the two inscriptions; *Sequanis Feliciter*; *Remis Feliciter*. (*Ibid.*)

<sup>1</sup> See p. 133. Caesar availed himself of the authority given him by this senatus-consultum for the whole of his war against the Gauls; it secured legality for his operations without the necessity of obtaining further decrees from the senate or the people, and thus allowed him to raise fresh legions and to add war to war each year till the whole of Gaul was conquered. (*de Bell. Gall.*, i. 35.)

occupied, as they had been for the last twenty days, in crossing the Saône, which the troops of the Ædui had not dared to defend. He probably established himself at Sathonay, and there waited till



Monument of Cussy, near Autun.<sup>1</sup>

three-quarters of the hostile army had reached the other side of the river, when he crushed the rearguard, which was left on the east bank, on the hill of Mâcon (in June); then, throwing his whole army across the river in one day, he found himself in the presence of the entire horde, which was going northwards. For a fortnight he followed it at a very short distance without finding an opportunity for bringing on an engagement, till, provisions failing through the treachery of Dumnorix, he resolved to go and obtain them from the very capital of the Ædui, Bibracte (on Mount Beuvray, eight miles from Autun). The Helvetii thought he was fleeing, and fell upon his rearguard, but they found the whole army drawn up in battle array, and there ensued a violent struggle which lasted until the middle of the night, with immense slaughter among the Gauls. At the commencement of the action Cæsar had sent away his horse as a sign that he wished to share all the perils of his soldiers (end of June or beginning of July). The remainder of the horde hastened its march northwards in order to reach the Rhine and Germany. Being soon overtaken they gave up their arms, and by order of the proconsul the survivors of this disastrous migration 110,000

men, returned to their mountains, which Cæsar was unwilling that

<sup>1</sup> *Revue arch.*, 1860 and 1879. The last act of the battle against the Helvetii has been placed on the *Chaumes* (stubble-fields) of Auenay, twelve miles from Autun, and it has been thought that the ruins of the column of Cussy found at that spot were the remains of a monument commemorative of Cæsar's victory. But the *Commentaries* give no geographical particulars which allow the scene of the action to be recognized. The numerous barrows of the

the Germans should occupy. The Allobroges received orders to provide them with wheat until they had sowed their land again.

The Boii, a tribe in alliance with the Helvetii, remained with Cæsar's permission among the Ædui, who settled them upon their south-western frontier (Beaujolais) to defend it against the Arverni. They were the descendants of that brave nation which had quitted Italy rather than live subject to Rome. Threatened on the banks of the Danube by the Getæ, they had joined their fortunes with those of the Helvetii, and returned, after a lapse of more than five centuries, to their early fatherland. There they were again doomed to meet with the dominion which they had so long avoided.

Gaul was then placed between two invasions, that of the Suevi, a wild and unruly force, and that of the Romans, an admirably organized power, both of them formidable to a nation which did not know how to unite its interests. The Suevi inspired fear by their barbarism. "Every year," says Cæsar, "the warriors go in search of combats and booty. They never dwell in the same canton more than one year; they live less on wheat than on milk, meat, and game. Their garments are the skins of beasts, which leave the greater part of the body exposed. They do not allow wine or foreign commodities to be brought among them, and love to surround themselves with vast solitudes. These great depopulated territories appear to them to reflect glory upon the nation which committed such ravages; they are a proof that many nations were unable to resist their arms. It is said that behind them, on the east, they have rendered desert a space of 600,000 paces." No wonder that Gaul, unable to close her gates against such guests, was in haste to free herself by the hand of Rome.

The war with the Helvetii being over, Cæsar found himself face to face with Ariovistus. He took care not to reject the entreaties of the Gauls when the deputies of the principal cities, gathered in general assembly, *concilium totius Gallie*, came to implore his support against the German king, for these barbarians were a far

plateau are a very ancient cemetery, not the immense ossuary of a battlefield, and the architectonic details of the column indicate an epoch posterior to that of the Antonines. Nevertheless we give a representation of the monument, which has played an important part in the attempts made to discover the spot where Cæsar gained his first great victory.



greater cause of uneasiness to the Roman province than the Helvetii had been. Hannibal had imposed upon Rome the obligation of subduing Spain, whence the great blow of the second Punic war had been struck; the conquest of that country had compelled the senate to secure a road between the Pyrenees and the Alps, and the safety of the province formed along this military road required that the territorial *status quo* created in Gaul by the victories of Fabius and Domitius should not be changed. Such was the chain of historical causes from which the Gallic war was the last and glorious consequence.

But now all Germany was on the move; there was not a moment to lose in repelling the invasion, of which Ariovistus was but the vanguard.

Cæsar hastened towards him by forced marches in the direction of the important stronghold of *Vesontio* (Besançon), which Ariovistus attempted to seize, but was forestalled by Cæsar, who reached it about the beginning of August. The description he gives of it proves the exactness of the particulars with which he furnishes us, for his account of the situation holds good at the present day.

Cæsar halted there a few days to collect provisions and gain a knowledge of the country. This delay was near proving fatal to him. His soldiers, terrified by the tales told them about the great stature and courage of the Germans, were unwilling to advance further. Throughout the whole camp everyone made his will. The less terrified pointed out the difficulty of the roads, the depth of the forests, the impossibility of transport or revictualling; it was even reported to Cæsar that the soldiers had resolved not to obey him when he gave the order to raise the standards. He called together a grand council of war, at which the centurions were present; he reminded them of all the victories of the legions over the nations of the north; those of Marius over the Cimbri and Teutons, of Crassus over the gladiators; those he himself had just won over the Helvetii, who had so often conquered the Suevi, and he represented Ariovistus as having gained the advantage over the Gauls only by tactics idle against Romans. "As for those," said he, "who in order to hide their fears talk of the difficulty of the roads and of obtaining provisions, they are very

rash to pretend to point out to their general his duties, or to think that he will forget them. That is his care, and he has provided for it. The wheat will be furnished by the Sequani, the Lingones (Langres), and the Lenci (Toul); already it stands ripe in the fields. As for the roads, they shall soon judge of them. It is asserted that the soldiers will refuse to obey; their general does not believe a word of it, for an army never becomes mutinous but with an incapable or criminal leader. For himself his whole life bears



Country round Besançon.

witness to his integrity, and the war with the Helvetii to his good fortune. Accordingly he will fix the start earlier; on the night following at the fourth watch the camp shall be struck, for he is impatient to see whether fear triumphs over duty and honour in the hearts of his soldiers. Should the army not follow him he will set out with only the tenth legion; it shall be his praetorian cohort." The tenth legion, flattered by the confidence he had shown in it, promised its absolute devotion, and the others, through

their tribunes and centurions, protested their submission to the orders of the leader "who alone had the direction of the war."

Two roads led from Besançon to the valley of the Rhine, the one shorter, but mountainous and wooded, and consequently difficult, the other fifty miles longer, because it skirted this thick forest in the direction between Besançon and Vesoul. Cæsar took the latter, and after seven days' march arrived in the valley of the Rhine, which no Roman had ever yet reached. Ariovistus was encamped there; he demanded of the proconsul a conference midway between the two camps. Each repaired thither with ten horsemen; those of Cæsar were soldiers of the tenth legion whom he had mounted on Gallic horses; "He exceeds his promises," said they; "he was to make us prætorians, and here we are knights, *equites*." Ariovistus reproached the proconsul with having entered his territories as a foe. This part of Gaul, said he, was his province, as the senate had theirs; he was not such a barbarian as not to understand that, under the mask of friendship, Cæsar thought of subjugating the Gauls; and he added; "If thou dost not depart with thy army I shall treat thee as an enemy; and know that many messengers have come to me on behalf of the nobles of Rome offering me their friendship and their gratitude if I rid them of thee.<sup>1</sup> But leave me in free possession of Gaul, and without fatigue or danger on thy part I will take upon myself all the wars that thou wouldest undertake."

Cæsar had no idea of retiring; but Ariovistus refused battle for several days. It was because the women-diviners of the Suevi had consulted the fates by listening to the murmur of the waters and studying the circles made by a stone thrown into the river, and the fates had replied; "You must not fight till after the new moon has shown its silver crescent." Upon this being revealed by some prisoners, Cæsar was only the more anxious to bring on the action. He succeeded in forcing the Germans to accept the combat before the lucky time fixed by their prophetesses. The battle was a desperate one, but ended disastrously for the barbarians

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar quotes these words of Ariovistus; are they authentic? The implacable hatred of the nobles against the proconsul of the Gauls, whom at a later period they desired to give up to the Germans, would lead us to think so.



(10th of September). Only a small number escaped, and among them Ariovistus, who was wounded, and with difficulty recrossed the Rhine.

A few days before the battle, Ariovistus having demanded a fresh conference, Cæsar had sent him M. Mettius, a guest of the barbarian king, and the Gaul, Valerius Procillus, whose father had obtained from one of the governors of Gallia Narbonensis the title of citizen. Procillus spoke Celtic, and could converse with the German, who understood that language. But upon their entry into his

camp he treated them as spies, and had them put in irons. In the rout their guards were carrying them off with them, when Cæsar, who was pursuing the enemy at the head of his cavalry, rescued them. "Fortune," said he, "was unwilling to mar the joy of his triumph by the loss of the man most highly esteemed in the province, his guest and his friend." Procillus related how he had thrice seen the fates consulted in order to decide whether he should be burnt immediately or later on. Two of the wives of Ariovistus and one of his daughters were killed, and probably many of their companions, for they had placed themselves, as at the battle of Aquæ Sextiæ, on



Medallion of Olbia (Obverse).<sup>1</sup>



Medallion of Olbia (Reverse).

<sup>1</sup> Mask or gorgon, front face. On the reverse, APXI, the initials of ἀρχιερές(?), high-priest, or ἀρχιερατικόν(?), pontifical; eagle upon a fish. Bronze medallion of Olbia.



the chariots with which the Suevi had protected their two flanks and the hindmost ranks of the army.

The news of this defeat spread joy through Gaul and grief through Germany. The Suevi withdrew from the Rhine and plunged into their forests. In a single campaign Cæsar had terminated two formidable wars (58 B.C.). He went into Cisalpine Gaul to pass the winter, there to receive the congratulations of his friends at Rome and to fulfil the judicial duties of his office, by holding assizes (*conventus*) in the principal towns of the province. Thence too, he watched the restless tribes of Pannonia. There were other Celts who, at the report of the Gallic combats and the victories of their neighbours, the Getæ, over the Greeks of Olbia and the coast of Thrace,<sup>1</sup> might be tempted to take the road to the Adriatic, where they would have found the bones of the legions exterminated by their forefathers. Skilful negotiations, of which only faint traces remain, retained the Pannonians in alliance with Rome, and Cæsar, having nothing to fear for his eastern provinces, could strip them of troops and carry all his forces into Gaul.<sup>2</sup>

### III.—SECOND CAMPAIGN : OPERATIONS AGAINST THE BELGÆ (56 B.C.).

The defeat of Ariovistus had freed the Ædui and Sequani from slavery; but some of their clients, instead of again placing themselves under their protection, had entreated that of the Remi, a powerful tribe of Belgica, and Cæsar had not opposed this defection. Then, instead of going



The Roman, Alobrodiios.<sup>3</sup>

back into Italy, the legions had taken up winter quarters upon their territory, and it appeared that the valley of the Saône was already, like that of the Rhone, a Roman province. Discontent succeeded enthusiasm; men feared they had

<sup>1</sup> The rich city of Olbia, on the *Hypanis* (Bug), and all the towns of the north-western littoral of the empire as far as Apollonia were destroyed about this time by the Getæ. (Dion Chrys., *Orat.*, xxxvi.)

<sup>2</sup> The Gauls of the Danube had, like our own, already issued from the state of barbarism. As early as the fourth century before Christ they had struck coins (see p. 127), whereas the Germans only manufactured it in Charlemagne's time, the Slavs not till the eleventh century of our era. (Fr. von Pulszky, *Mém. de la domination celtique en Hongrie*, in the *Revue arch.*, Sept., 1879.)

<sup>3</sup> Head of chief named ALOBRODIIOS, of the tribe of the Remi or the Suessiones.

only changed masters; the people were, in short, indignant with Caesar, who was desirous, it was affirmed, of re-establishing royalty, and the ambitious spirits apprehended that they would no longer have to reckon with their adversaries, but with Rome. A fresh war postponed these fears for a time.



The Suevii Galba.<sup>1</sup>

The Belgæ had met in general assembly, and had decided upon a levy in mass; 296,000 men were to be ready in the spring under the orders of Galba, the war-chief of the Suesiones and Bellovaci. Warned of these movements by his lieutenant Labienus, Caesar enrolled two new legions in Italy, despatched them towards Belgica, and, as soon as the season permitted, arrived in person upon the frontier. He had long beforehand prepared the Remi to play in the north the part which Marseilles had played in the south and the Ædui in the centre, that is to say, to open up the country to him, to guide him in his march, and to prepare the way for defections. They acquitted themselves of the task with shameful devotion. Iccius and Antebrogins, two of the principal chiefs, came to tell him that their nation entrusted themselves to the good faith of the Roman people, that they would do all that was ordered them, that they would deliver up hostages, their strongholds, and provisions. Caesar demanded that the whole senate should repair to him, and that the children of the most noble families should be given up to him.



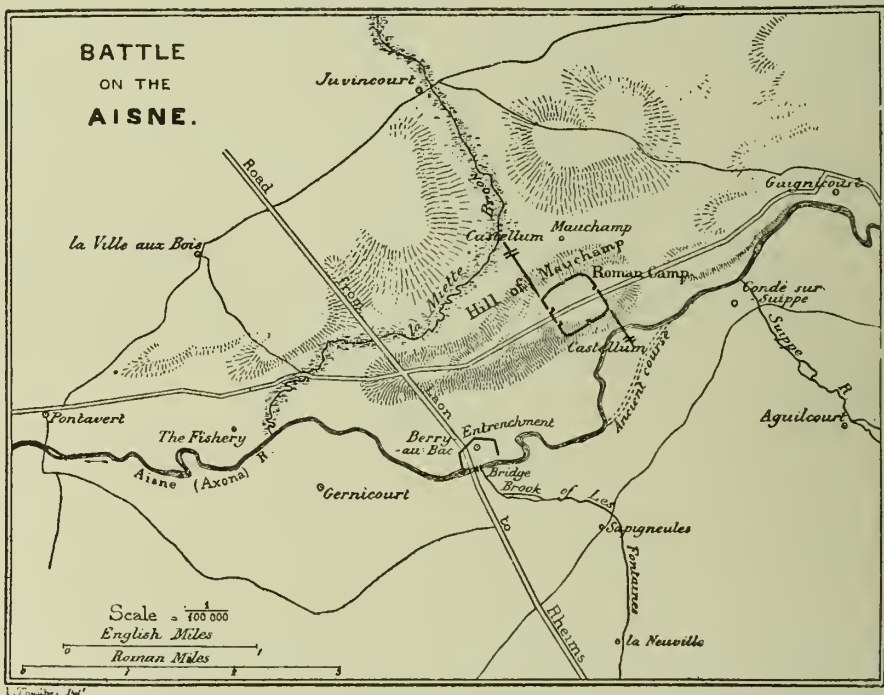
Antebrogins.<sup>2</sup>

It was in the territory of the Remi, in the neighbourhood of Bibrax (Vieux-Laon), that he encountered the Belgæ. For some time he hesitated to pit his eight legions, 60,000 men, against nearly 300,000 barbarians, renowned as the bravest in Gaul. In order to divide them he secretly sent Divitiacus and the army of the Ædui with orders to devastate the country of the Bellovaci in rear of the confederates, whilst he himself took the precautions necessary in such remote countries. He constricted at Berry-an-Bac

<sup>1</sup> Head ornamented with a *torques*, with the name of CALOVA, or Galoua, which Caesar makes into Galba. (De Sauley, *op. cit.*, No. 30.)

<sup>2</sup> Tiara with diadem. On the reverse, a horse galloping; below, the wild boar standard: ANDECOM. (De Sauley, *op. cit.*, No. 15.)

a fortified bridge, where he stationed six cohorts under the command of Titurins Sabinus, which were to afford him security for his convoys and for his retreat; then with his legions he took up a strong position on the right bank of the Aisne. Thence he could without danger study the barbarians' method of fighting and



Battle of the Aisne.

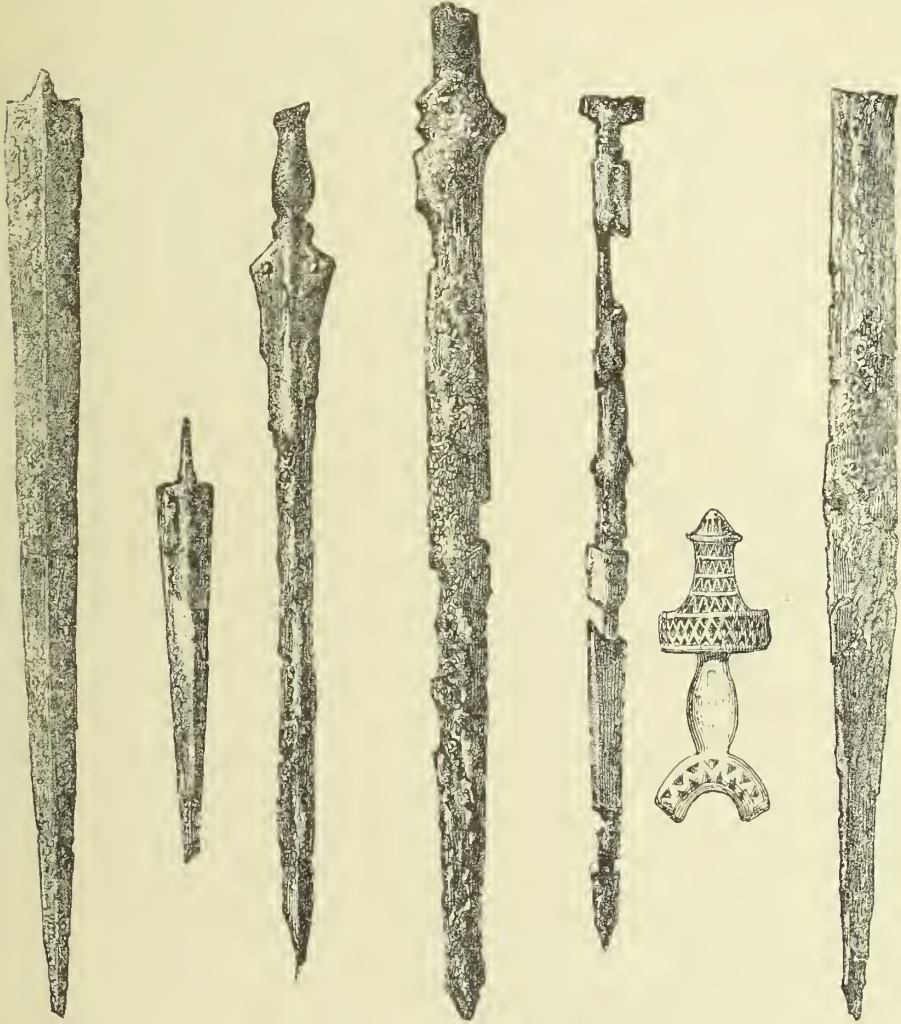
familiarize his troops with their aspect. This caution encouraged the barbarians. They tried to carry Bibrax, which was held by the Roman Iccius. A reinforcement sent by Cæsar at the right moment obliged them to retire after a furious attack. As the Romans refused to cross the marshy land, the Belgæ decided to turn the position by crossing the Aisne lower down. Cæsar, warned by his scouts, sent against them his cavalry, who charged them right into the bed of the river and inflicted great slaughter upon them. This double check caused great disorder in their army. The news of the attack of Divitiacus



The Suessio, Divitiacus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Divitiacus or Divitiac, king of the Suessiones, the predecessor of Galba. (De Saulcy, *op. cit.*, No. 25.)

completed the discomfiture. The Bellovaci, to the number of 60,000, hastened to the defence of their homes, the other tribes followed the fatal example, and Cæsar had only to set on his horsemen to



Iron Swords<sup>1</sup> (Museum of Saint-Germain).

change this retreat into a disorderly flight. For a whole day the Romans slaughtered without any resistance (57 B.C.).<sup>2</sup>

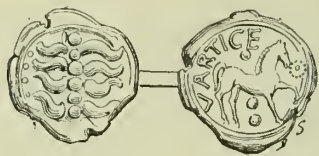
The coalition was dissolved, but it was necessary to subdue the

<sup>1</sup> Swords and remains of swords of iron from various tumuli. (Museum of Saint-Germain.)

<sup>2</sup> *Sine ullo periculo . . . interfecerunt quantum fuit diei spatium.* (Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.*, ii. 11.) The map given on p. 144 is taken from the *Histoire de Cæsar* by Napoleon III., vol. ii. p. 89.



tribes in detail—an easy but tedious task. Cæsar threw all his activity into it. On the following day he marched against the Suessiones, and took their capital, *Noviodunum* (Soissons). Their king Galba, saved by the entreaties of the Remi, gave his sons as hostages. Thence the proconsul passed into the territory of the



Coin of the Nervii.<sup>1</sup>

Bellovaci (Beauvais). Terror preceded him; the chiefs had fled to the island of Britain. His politic generosity granted the pardon of the Bellovaci to the prayers of the Ædnan, Divitiacus, as he had yielded that of the Suessiones to the solicitations of the Remi. The Ambiani (Amiens) hastened to give hostages.

Half Belgica was subdued; the Marne, the Aisne, and the Somme had been crossed, and as yet the Roman army had encountered no serious dangers. But Cæsar wished to penetrate into the wild country of the Nervii (Hainault). Immense marshes, forests through which they could only advance by opening a way with the axe, hedges formed of young trees, interwoven with briars and thorns, protected the territories of this nation, who rejected the name of Gauls, and boasted of their German origin. They had no towns, drove away merchants, and forbade the use of wine and of every enervating luxury. In conjunction with the Atrebatæ (Arras) and the Viromandui (inhabitants of Vermandois, Saint-Quentin), they awaited the Romans beyond the Sambre (in the neighbourhood of Maubeuge).<sup>2</sup> In marching order each legion was followed by its baggage, and the whole army formed a long column. Apprised of this by Gallic deserters, the Nervii prepared to surprise the legions one after another, and they waited, hidden in the wood, for the first to appear. But in drawing near the enemy Cæsar had altered his arrangements. Six legions marched together, and the two last, composed of fresh levies, kept guard over the baggage, gathered together in one convoy. As soon as the army appeared and had commenced the preparations for encampment, the Nervii dashed forward and crossed the Sambre,

<sup>1</sup> A horse with the name of a Nervian, VARTICE, who helped to save Cicero when he was besieged in his camp. On the reverse, a branch with leaves in pairs. (De Sauley, *op. cit.*, No. 35.)

<sup>2</sup> Napoleon III., *Histoire de César*, vol. i. p. 95.

which was fordable anywhere in that district. Their attack was so impetuous that "the leaders had no time to assume their uniform, the soldiers to put on their helmets and take the covers off their shields. Each legionary, as he hastened up from his work, took his place near the first standard he happened to catch sight of, lest in seeking his own he should lose time in the battle."

Notwithstanding the hedges which intersected the ground and prevented the legions seeing one another and combining their movements, the Atrebatas on the right wing of the Nervian army were hurled back into the Sambre, the Viromandui who occupied the centre were brought to a stand at the river, but while they were there offering a desperate resistance, the Nervii on the left wing climbed up and turned the hill.

On this side the scarcely marked-out camp was taken; the legions were divided and all the centurions of the twelfth legion slain or placed *hors de combat*. The light troops, the auxiliaries, fled, even the Treveri, the bravest horsemen of Gaul, set out for their own city spreading in all directions the report that the Romans were conquered and their baggage carried off. Cæsar himself thought the battle was



German Auxiliary.<sup>1</sup>

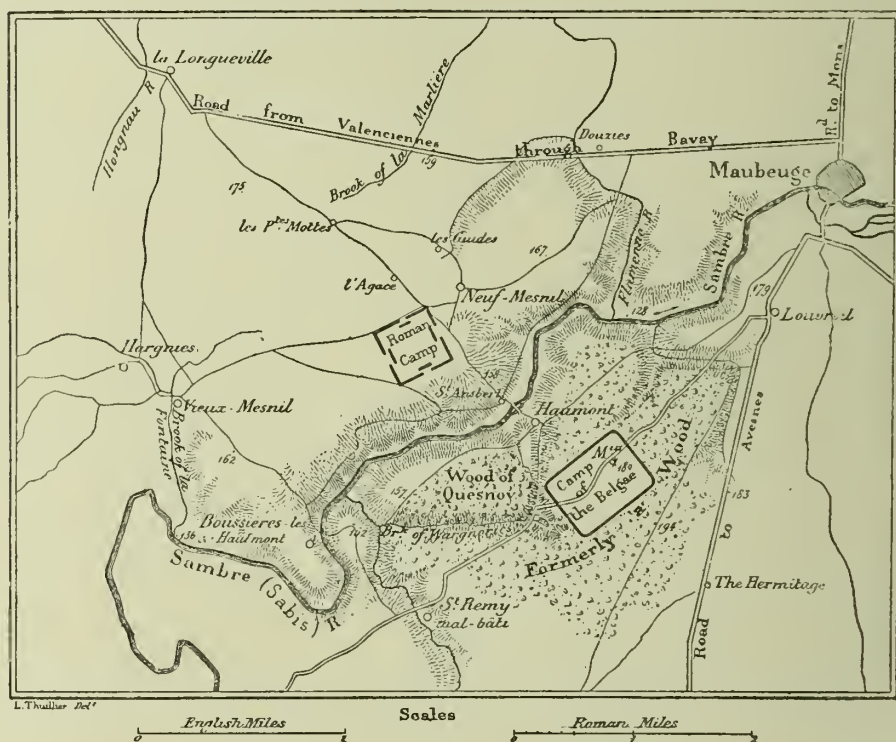
lost; seizing a shield he dashed forward, reformed his line, and fought like a common soldier. His men encouraged by his example drove the Nervian troops a few paces backwards. He availed himself of the space afforded by this vigorous effort to deploy his crowded cohorts, and by degrees to draw the legions closer together that they might support one another. Discipline and tactics regained their advantage; the rearguard had time to hasten up, and Labienus, who was pursuing the Atrebatas, sent his tenth legion to the proconsul's aid. "Of our 600 senators," said their old men to Cæsar, "only three remain; of 60,000 fighting men, 500 have escaped."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the column of Trajan.

<sup>2</sup> These figures are much exaggerated, for the Nervii are soon afterwards found to have become formidable again.

Such valiant foes inspired their conqueror with respect.<sup>1</sup> "It is not to be wondered at," said he, "that men so intrepid should have dared to cross a broad river, climb up its steep banks and fight in the most unfavourable place. The greatness of their courage rendered the most difficult enterprise easy to them."

The battle of the Sambre was one of the occasions upon which Cæsar fought for life; it laid Belgica at his feet. Only



Plan of the Battle of the Sambre.<sup>2</sup>

the Aduatuci still remained in arms. They were descended from the Cimbri, who nearly half a century previously had invaded Gaul. Six thousand of these barbarians having been left on the banks of the Rhine to keep guard over the heavy baggage of the horde, had there founded a nation and had settled themselves about

<sup>1</sup> He did more than this; he provided for the needs of the women, the children, and the old men, who had taken refuge in the marshes; he left them the whole territory of their nation and enjoined upon the neighbouring tribes to protect the remnant of them against all violence.

<sup>2</sup> Belgian writers, with the exception of M. Renard (*Hist. polit. et milit. de la Belgique*) place this battle at the village of Prêle, two leagues from Charleroi. M. Renard agrees with Napoleon in putting it near Maubeuge.

the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, where other Germans had doubtless joined them. They had promised their assistance to the Nervii, but the news of the disaster made them draw back. As they were sure to be attacked soon, they abandoned their villages and took refuge with all they possessed in the strongest of their fastnesses. This was a cluster of steep rocks crowned by a plateau which was reached by a gently sloping path 200 feet broad, but intersected by a trench and a double wall formed of enormous stones. If we believe this *oppidum* to have been situated at the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, on the mountain which now bears the citadel of Namur, it was also protected on two sides by those rivers.<sup>1</sup>

On the approach of the legions the Aduatuci hastened bravely to meet them, and engaged in skirmishes which did not stop Cæsar's works. In a short time a counter-work, twelve feet high and fifteen miles long, and furnished with forts, put a stop to sorties; then the Romans formed an earthwork, made mantlets, and constructed out of reach of arrow-shot a tower of which the upper storey was to overtop the rampart. "On seeing this the besieged laughed and jested on the top of their walls, asking us what we intended doing with such a heavy machine, and how such dwarfs as we could move it. But when they saw it approaching their walls they were terror-struck and consented to deliver up their arms. They threw such quantities of them into the trenches of the place that they were piled up as high as the walls." But they had still retained some: on the following night, thinking to take the Roman camp by surprise, they attacked it. Signal-fires gave the alarm, from all parts men hastened up toward the point attacked;<sup>2</sup> 4,000 Aduatuci fell at the foot of the intrenchment; all the rest, to the number of 53,000 were sold on the following day to the slave-merchants who followed the army. These descendants of the Cimbri met the same fate as their forefathers.<sup>3</sup>

During these last fights the young Crassus, who had distinguished

<sup>1</sup> Such is the opinion of the emperor Napoleon III.; two other sites have been proposed, Mount Falhèze, on the left bank of the Meuse, opposite Huy, and Saint Antoine, near Philippeville.

<sup>2</sup> *Celeriter, ut ante Cæsar imperarat, ignibus significatione facta.* (*de Bell. Gall.*, ii. 33.)

<sup>3</sup> The same remark applies to the Nervii. The Aduatuci remained one of the important nations of Belgium.



himself in the battle against Ariovistus, had been detached with one legion to scour the country between the Seine and the Loire. He had met with no resistance; all the tribes of that region, impressed by the fame of Cæsar's victories, and unprepared for war, had resigned themselves to recognize the sovereignty of Rome and to give hostages. This expedition had therefore been a mere military parade.

After the second campaign (57 B.C.) Gaul appeared subdued, and several Germanic tribes on the right bank of the Rhine sent humble deputations to the victor. Cæsar left seven legions, however, in winter quarters on the north of the Loire to keep watch over the tribes who had lately seen the Roman arms, but had not felt them; an eighth under Galba received orders to open up military routes between Celtica and Italy across the Great and Lesser Saint Bernard, by which Italian merchants already passed to and fro. As for Cæsar, he was about to employ the winter in regulating the affairs of Cisalpine Gaul, Illyria, and his third province, Gallia Narbonensis, where the Pyrenees have preserved a souvenir of him in the Vieux-César Spring at Cautelets.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.—THIRD CAMPAIGN : WAR IN ARMORICA AND AQUITANIA.

Cæsar was in Illyria when he learnt that Galba's legion had been attacked by mountaineers and almost destroyed, and that all Armorica had risen. Crassus being in need of corn, had demanded it from the tribes in the neighbourhood of his camps; they had put his envoys, Roman knights, in irons, and had declared that they would only give them up if he in his turn gave hostages. This was a violation of the right of nations, which even these barbarians recognized, and it explains to us the cruelty which the Roman afterward displayed. Those who had just taken this bold step employed the winter in forming a vast confederation which comprised almost all the nations of the coast, from the

<sup>1</sup> Even if all the *Cæsar's camps* in Gaul are not camps of Cæsar, there is nothing to prevent the belief that the proconsul came to Cautelets, a bathing-place of the Romans, very ancient and highly renowned, either in an interval between his campaigns, or at the end of 51 B.C., after the pacification of Gaul and Aquitania.







Loire to the Scheldt; they sought aid even from the island of the Britons. Caesar was ready for this war, for he had studied beforehand the country and the men whom he would have to fight. His instructions were issued immediately. All the Gallie vessels that could be found were to be seized, others built, rowers levied in Gallia Narbonensis, pilots engaged; then while Decimus Junius Brutus, the adopted son of Postumius Albinus, assembled the fleet at the mouth of the Loire, no doubt at Corbilo (Saint-Nazaire), Crassus would overrun the country to the south of that river as far as the Garonne. Labienus with all the legionary cavalry, which was useless in a maritime war, would scour Belgica to restrain it and stop the Germans, who were said to be inclined to cross the Rhine: finally Titurius Sabinus at the head of three legions would chastise the tribes settled between the mouths of the Seine and the Rance. When his flanks and rear were thus protected, Caesar himself would attack the Veneti, the most powerful nation of Armorica.



Denarius of Postumius Albinus.

This war must of necessity be a difficult one, owing to the nature of the country, which was intersected by deep bays and rocky peninsulas, and still more to the courage of the inhabitants who defended foot by foot a land bristling with fortresses which the flow of the tide rendered inaccessible to men on foot, the ebb to vessels. "One could not easily besiege them," says Caesar. "If, after laborious works, we succeeded in keeping out the sea by dykes, and in raising an earth-work to the height of the walls, the besieged when they despaired of success assembled their vessels, carried all their goods on board, and withdrew into other towns where nature offered them the same means of defence. They practised this manœuvre during a great part of the summer, the more easily because our fleet was detained by contrary winds, and moreover found great difficulty in navigating a sea perpetually agitated by high tides.

"The vessels of the Veneti were built and armed in such a way as to contend against all the obstacles offered by these seas. They have flatter bottoms than ours, accordingly they dread shoals less. Their prows are much raised, and the hull of the vessel, being wholly made of oak, can support the roughest shock of the



waves. Beams of a foot square may be seen in them, fastened with iron nails an inch thick. The anchors are held, not by ropes, but by iron chains; instead of linen cloth, as in our vessels, they have prepared skins for sails, thinking that they will better resist the boisterous winds of the ocean. In action our only advantage was to surpass them in agility. Our rams could not break through these solid masses, and the height of their bulwark above the water



Map for the War against the Veneti.<sup>1</sup>

sheltered them from our arrows. Did the wind rise they abandoned themselves to the tempest, and ran without danger over shoals on which our galleys, drawing more water, would have been dashed to pieces.”

When the Roman fleet appeared the Veneti advanced to meet them with 220 ships furnished by themselves or their allies. At

<sup>1</sup> According to Napoleon III., *Hist. de César*, vol. iii. pl. 15. The emperor places the encounter between the two fleets in the Bay of Quiberon, off Saint-Gildas, in the direction of the mouth of the river Auray; M. E. Desjardins puts it amid the ancient islands of the Loire, which are now connected with the continent.

first the Romans were perplexed, and suffered loss. But their military instinct led them to discover a new engine and a new line of tactics against the Veneti, as they had done against the Carthaginians at Mylæ. They conceived the idea of fixing very sharp scythes on the ends of long poles, with which they succeeded in cutting the ropes that bound the yards to the masts. The yards fell, the vessel remained motionless; two or three galleys then surrounded it, and the legionaries climbed up and boarded it. The Gauls lost some of their ships in this manner, and terrified at the manœuvre they were about to seek safety in flight when suddenly the wind fell. They had no oars and could not make up for the want of the sails. Their vessels were taken one after another; very few of them regained the land under cover of night. This fight, which lasted from ten o'clock in the morning till sunset, is the first known to history as having taken place upon the Atlantic. The Veneti had lost the flower of their nation, and asked for peace; the terms were severe, all their senate perished by the sword, the remainder of the population, or at least so many as were captured, were sold. This valiant nation deserved that the country they had so well defended should have retained their name.

Cæsar made war according to his nature, which was kind, but also according to ancient customs, which were cruel, so that he appears merciful to some, inexorable towards others. The Veneti, who, like the Aduatuci, had been attacked in defiance of all right, had avenged themselves by perfidy; their chastisement was similar. But two brave nations perished for having defended their independence against an empire which they never threatened and whose name had scarcely reached them!

During these operations Viridovix, king of the Unelli (Cotentin), had stirred up the Aulerci-Eburovices (Évreux) and the Lexovii (district of Auge and Lienvin), who, as a pledge of their good faith, massacred their senates which belonged to the peace party; in a short time he assembled a numerous army against Sabinus. The legate had chosen the site of his camp with the usual ability

<sup>1</sup> The emperor places the camp of Sabinus at Petit-Celland, between the Sée and the road from Mortain to Avranches. But Cæsar's text is too brief in geographical details to authorize any localization.

of the Romans ;<sup>1</sup> he there kept himself shut in and affected fear. One day a deserter came and told the Gauls that Cæsar, hemmed in by the Veneti, had called Sabinus to his aid, and that on the following night the legions were to set forth. It was feared



Viridovix.<sup>1</sup>

they would escape ; Viridovix was forced to order the attack, and the whole army hastened to the camp, bearing faggots and brushwood with which to fill up the trench. The deserter was a Roman agent. Foreseeing this attack Sabinus kept his legions behind the ramparts, armed and ready. They fell upon the assailants and at the first shock overthrew them. A great number perished ; the cavalry slew the fugitives, and the Gauls, “as prompt in throwing down their arms as in taking them up, through lack of constancy in reverses,” yielded themselves to the legate’s discretion.

On the south Crassus had received into the Roman alliance the Pictones and the Santones, who were jealous of the maritime superiority of the Veneti, and he had penetrated as far as the Garonne without meeting any obstacle, crossed that river, and taken



Coin of Adietuanus.<sup>2</sup>

the principal town of the Sotiates, Sos (to the north of Eauze). As he penetrated deeper into the country Crassus found more formidable adversaries. Fifty thousand men led by Spanish officers trained in the school of Sertorius opposed him, not with the thoughtless impetuosity of barbarians, but with tactics wholly Roman ; cavalry scouting to discover the enemy’s movements, a strongly fortified camp, and behind these intrenchments a large army which refused to quit them, in order to induce the Romans to attack them there, but which sent numerous detachments to harass the march of the twelve cohorts of Crassus and cut off his convoys. He would fain have induced them to fight in the open country, but not succeeding in that, he directed against their camp an attack which would have failed had not four of his cohorts,

<sup>1</sup> Head with helmet, with the name of Viridovix shortened. On the reverse, a lion ; above, a star. (De Sauley, *op. cit.*, No. 32.)

<sup>2</sup> Barbarian head ; REX ADIETVANVS. On the reverse, SOTIOTA, and a she-wolf. Those whom we name the Sotiates called themselves Sotiotes. (De Sauley, *op. cit.*, No. 33.)

arriving by a long circuit upon the ill-fortified rear of the position, entered it unexpectedly.

By these carefully combined operations Armorica had been subdued, almost the whole of Aquitania brought into subjection, and in Belgica not a man had stirred. Only the Morini and the Menapii had not sent deputies to the proconsul to promise him peace; Caesar went in search of them into the depths of their forests and marshes, but without being able to reach them. From the Pyrenees to the North Sea, Gaul had that year been scourged by the victorious legions.

During these three campaigns Cæsar had effected another conquest, that of his army, who, seeing him unsparing of his own labour on the march and in fight, had become devoted to a leader who was always fortunate and whose rule was at once firm and kind. Severe in respect of discipline, very exacting about exercises and the works [of encampment], he demanded nothing useless and shut his eyes to small faults. But not a trait of bravery escaped him; they were forthwith rewarded by public praise, rich armour, and gold. He loved magnificence in his soldiers' arms, in their dress, and he encouraged their pleasures. "What does it matter if they perfume themselves," said he, "provided they fight well."<sup>1</sup>

At their head, beside experienced veterans, he placed young nobles who were desirous of serving so near Italy under a general who by every courier sent to Rome tidings of some victory, and whose tent, when in winter quarters or between two expeditions, resembled some sumptuous villa of the *via Latina* in the luxuriousness of its furniture<sup>2</sup> and its feasts. There they found the whole of Roman life—the elegance of the host, which excelled that of his guests, the conversations, by turns witty and serious, dwelling upon some literary question,<sup>1</sup> or concerning letters that morning arrived from the city, with verses of Catullus and the adventures of his Lesbia, the famous Clodia. This brilliant youth, to which Cæsar offered all that youth seeks, glory and pleasure,

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 67.

<sup>2</sup> . . . *In expeditionibus tessellata et sectilia parimenta circumtulisse.* (*Id. ibid.*, 46.) He always had two tables, one for his officers, the other for Roman magistrates and distinguished provincials. (*Id. ibid.*, 48.)

<sup>3</sup> In Gaul, Cæsar composed his *Commentaries*, which we still possess, and a treatise on *Analogy*, which is lost. [He is said to have first used the term *ablative case* in grammar.—*Id.*]



in turn related to their friends, who remained beneath the shades of Tivoli, the marvellous marches, the expeditions into unknown countries, the victories by land and sea which put an end to the greatest terror of the Republic.

Cicero was the resonnding echo of these Gallic wonders. Against the hatred of Clodius, the coldness of Pompey, the indifference of the nobles, he had felt the need of supporting himself by Cæsar, and he had behaved with the ardour "of the traveller who, having risen too late, must redouble his speed in order to arrive before the rest."<sup>1</sup> "What marvellous events!" cried he. "It has been the opinion of the wise, since the beginning of our empire, that the Gauls were our most terrible enemies. Instead of challenging them our generals thought they did enough for our glory in repulsing their attacks. This formidable war Cæsar has carried into the heart of Gaul, these nations whose names had never reached us he has reduced to submission. We had only a foot-path in Gaul, now the boundaries of these tribes are the frontiers of our dominion. It was not without some favour of the gods that nature had given Italy the Alps for a rampart. These mountains may now subside; from the Alps to the ocean there is no longer aught for Italy to dread."<sup>2</sup>

#### V.—FOURTH CAMPAIGN: EXPEDITIONS INTO GERMANY AND BRITAIN (55 B.C.).

All was not yet over, as Cicero thought. "In the winter which followed, the Usipetes and the Teneteri crossed the Rhine not far from the spot where it passes into the sea. The cause of this migration was that the Suevi had for many years waged a bloody war upon them, which hindered them from cultivating their fields. The Suevi are the most powerful and warlike nation in all Germany. It is said that they form 100 cantons, from each of which they send forth every year 1,000 armed men, who carry war into other lands. Those who remain in the country cultivate it for themselves and for the absent, and they in their turn take arms in the following year, while the others stay in their homes.

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Quintum*, ii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *De provinciis consularibus*, 13 and 14.

Thus neither agriculture nor the custom of warfare are interrupted. But none of them possesses land of his own or can remain in the same place more than one year. They consume little wheat, and live for the most part upon the produce of the chase, on milk and the flesh of their flocks. This kind of life, their daily exercise, and the liberty which they enjoy from infancy make them robust men of gigantic stature. In spite of the rigour of their climate they bathe in their rivers all the year round.

“To the merchants who penetrated into their country they sell what they have taken in war, and they buy nothing of them, not even those horses which the Gauls love so much. Those of the Germans are ugly but by exercising them every day they render them incapable of fatigue. In cavalry engagements they often spring to the ground and fight on foot, and as the horses are trained to stand, they promptly remount if the occasion demands it. To use a saddle seems to them a shameful effeminacy, and whatever their number may be, they do not fear to attack large bodies of cavalry.

“On the west they adjoin the Ubii, formerly a flourishing nation, so far as this can be said of Germans, and more civilized, because, as they border on the Rhine, they have frequent relations with the merchants and the Gauls. The Suevi have often attacked them without being able to deprive them of their territories, but they have made them tributary and reduced them to a state of great weakness.

“The Usipetes and the Tencteri were also exposed to the attack of the Suevi. After having long resisted them, and being at length driven from their domain, they wandered for three years through several cantons of Germany and arrived near the Rhine, in the country inhabited by the Menapii, who possessed fields, houses, and towns on both sides of the river. Frightened at the approach of such a multitude, the Menapii abandoned the right bank and entrenched themselves upon the left to oppose the passage of the Germans. The latter attempted to force their way across the river, then to cross it by stealth; not being successful in this they pretended to go back into their own country, but returning at the end of three days they suddenly attacked the Menapii and took their boats, with which they crossed the Rhine.”

At the report of this invasion, which recalled that of the Helvetii, Cæsar hastily recrossed the Alps, in spite of the snow, and called together the principal men of Gaul, some of whom were in communication with the enemy; he flattered them and obtained some cavalry; then he marched towards the Rhine with all his forces. The Germans sent deputies to him, who renewed the demands of the Teutones to Marius; "Give us lands and we will give you our friendship." Cæsar, who from the very first had posed as the protector of Gaul against German invasions, could not accept these conditions. He granted them a truce of three days, but on the very next day they broke it by surprising the Gallic horse, who lost seventy-four men. In this fight there perished an Aquitanian, whose grandfather had been the chief of his nation, and to whom the senate had decreed the title of Friend of the Roman People; his brother, in attempting to save him, fell with him. Cæsar forthwith advanced in order of battle; the intimidated barbarians sent him their chiefs and old men to justify the attack of the previous day. The consul, thinking himself authorized by their treachery, had them arrested and then delivered the attack; the horde, penned in upon the tongue of land at the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine, perished almost to a man. According to Cæsar, who, like Sylla, often exaggerates the number of his enemies and diminishes that of his own losses, they amounted, men, women, and children, to 430,000 souls. Cato wished to give up the perjured general to the Germans; the senate voted fresh thanksgivings to the gods.

The chiefs arrested before the battle were released. But whither were they to go? Their nation no longer existed, and the Gauls would have nothing but contempt for the vanquished; they asked to remain in the Roman camp.

Cæsar, however, dreaded this unforeseen aid which reached the Gauls from the neighbouring countries. In the preceding year the Armoricans had received soldiers and ships from Britain, and now the invasion of the Usipetes had reawakened the hopes of all the lately conquered nations. He saw that in order to avoid being disturbed in his conquest he must isolate Gaul from Britain and Germany, break off the relations between the island and the continent, and carry the terror of the name of Rome on to the

right bank of the Rhine. In ten days, with that wonderful activity which has only been equalled by one other general, Bonaparte, he built a bridge upon piles across the Rhine (near Bonn?);<sup>1</sup> then he crossed the river and terrified the neighbouring tribes, without however, engaging in any serious battles. The Suevi, at the mere report of his enterprise, had plunged into their forests. After passing eighteen days in Germany, as the season was advancing and he was desirous of making a descent upon



Bridge over the Rhine (Museum of Saint-Germain).

Britain in that same year, he withdrew his legions across the Rhine, broke down the bridge, and reached the country of the Morini, upon the straits (Boulonnais).

This expedition had not added one foot of land to the dominion of the Republic, but Cæsar had carried it out less for Rome than for Gaul. His end was gained, for he had led his Gallic auxiliaries to forage in their turn in the country of the Suevi. And then,

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar has left us a description of it: "Two beams of a foot and a half square (the Roman foot was 11·6496 inches), were fastened together at a distance of two feet, with their ends sharpened to a point, and proportionate in length to the various depths of the river. They were arranged and fixed in the beds of the channel with the help of machines: they were driven into it with the rammer, not vertically, like piles, but in an oblique direction; those above were inclined in the direction of the current, but opposite them, lower down stream than

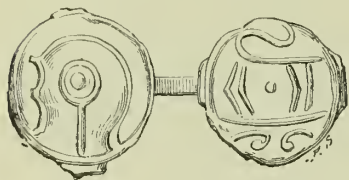


even on the banks of the Tiber, what acclamations at the news that the mysterious and dreaded river had borne a Roman bridge and seen the standards of the legions pass over it!

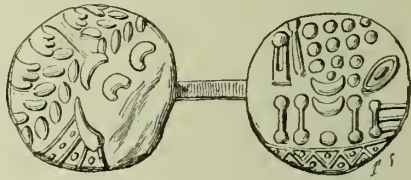
Cæsar proposed to give the Romans another subject for astonishment and pride by a campaign carried "to the uttermost parts of the earth."

Britain, inhabited by the same nations as Gaul, kept up frequent relations with the latter. There the sanctuary of the Druids was situated, on the island of Mona, whither pious pilgrimages brought from the continent those who desired to attain the utmost degrees of knowledge and religious initiation.

Friendly relations with these tribes must afford security for the



Coin of the Britons (of Tin).<sup>1</sup>



Coin of the Britons (of Silver).

Roman sway in Gaul. Accordingly, Cæsar had long sought to open negotiations with the Britons, who seemed inclined to enter into them, and had sent proposals of peace to him in Gaul. But as the king of the Atrebates, whom he had commissioned to go to the island to settle the conditions, had been put in irons, it was important for Cæsar to avenge the insult, which would have weakened his authority among the Gallie tribes had it remained unpunished, and

the former and forty feet distant, two others were driven in, coupled in the same way and inclined in the contrary direction, as if to resist the force of the water. On each of these inclined piles, in the space between the four beams, that is, between the two pairs of piles, were lodged great beams two feet square. The two pairs were connected on each side, starting from the upper extremity, by two braces or girders, so that the piles were thus kept facing one another, and formed such a solid whole, that the force of the water, far from shaking it, only pressed all the parts more closely together. When they had been fixed across the entire breadth of the river, rafters were placed on the cross-beams, and the flooring of the bridge was formed with hurdles and faggots. Finally, there were driven in obliquely, below the construction, stakes fastened to all the timber work, and serving to support it by resisting the force of the current. Others had been placed higher up stream to break the shock of the tree-trunks which the barbarians might have taken it into their heads to throw into the river in order to destroy the works." (*de Bell. Gall.*, iv. 17.)

<sup>1</sup> On the obverse, what is meant for a head; on the reverse, what is meant for a horse [?].

the new campaign was decided upon.<sup>1</sup> He sent Volusenus, one of his officers, in a galley to reconnoitre the British coast. That officer either dared not or could not effect a landing, and returned at the end of five days. Upon the information he brought, Cæsar set forth on the night between the 24th and 25th of August with two legions, embarked on eighty transport vessels and a few galleys which he had assembled at Wissant or in the Liane.<sup>2</sup> They had but little baggage; he himself took with him only three servants. The following morning they were in sight of the cliffs of Dover, the summits of which were lined with Britons, who had had been warned by their Gallic friends. It was impossible to land at this spot, commanded as it was by the heights that the enemy occupied; he lay at anchor till the turn of the tide, and then went northward with it, till, at the end of the cliffs, he came upon the beach of Deal. The Britons, who from the coast followed every movement of the fleet, had already hastened thither. Accordingly, notwithstanding the protection afforded by the machines which from the higher parts of the vessels sent forth a shower of arrows, the work of landing was difficult. The standard-bearer of the fourth legion leapt into the sea to encourage his comrades, and a combat took place amid the waves. When the legionaries had attained dry land a furious charge dispersed the barbarians.

Cæsar relates that one of his soldiers, Cæsins Seæva, with four other legionaries, had from their boat reached a rock on a level with the water and surrounded by the sea, and thence they shot arrows at the enemy, every one of which found its mark. When the ebb rendered the space between this rock and the land fordable the four legionaries regained their boat, into which Seæva refused to go. The Britons at once hastened up; he killed several of them and stopped the others, till his thigh was pierced by an arrow, his face almost crushed in by

<sup>1</sup> Britain was not as barbarous as Cæsar represents it; the southern tribes, who seemed to have been of Belgic origin, were sufficiently civilized to have high roads and to coin money 150 years before Christ. (Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 31.) A very active commerce existed between Britain and Gaul, as Cæsar himself bears witness.

<sup>2</sup> *Cæsoniacum* (Boulogne), at the mouth of the Liane, was the port of the Romans for Britain under the emperors, and it was probably Cæsar's, too, but there are also reasons for placing the *Itius Portus* at Wissant. The emperor Napoleon III. was in favour of Boulogne; M. de Sauley still holds to Wissant.

a stone, and his shield broken. In this state he threw himself into the sea and swam off to his vessel. When they congratulated him upon his courage, his sole preoccupation was the thought of having lost his shield, and he excused himself to his general for the loss. Caesar made him a centurion on the spot.

The boldness of the Britons was subdued; they asked to enter into negotiations, gave hostages, and hastened in crowds to the camp, curious to examine the war-machines and arms which had caused them such terror.

It was then the time of the full moon and near the equinox, that is to say, the period of the highest tides in the Ocean. A violent tempest aggravating the tide dispersed the squadron which was bringing Caesar his cavalry, and dashed his freight-ships to pieces against the rocks on the coast. This disaster restored courage to the islanders; they assailed a legion as it was foraging, and soon the camp itself; but they were roughly received, and a sortie dispersed them. Caesar took advantage of their disheartened state to assume the tone of a master, required double the number of hostages he had at first demanded, and hastily regained the continent in his half-repaired ships.<sup>1</sup> "They disappeared," says an ancient chronicler, "as the snow on the sea-shore disappears at the touch of the south wind."

#### VI.—FIFTH AND SIXTH CAMPAIGNS: SECOND DESCENT UPON BRITAIN; REVOLT OF NORTHERN GAUL (54—53).

This retreat was too like a flight for Caesar, who had just had his command prolonged for five years. The preparations for renewing the expedition were vigorously pushed on during the winter. He had left precise orders for the building of ships upon a new model—less high in the freeboard, in order that oars might be easily adapted without interfering with the sails, broader in the beam on account of the baggage and horses they would have to carry. All that was necessary for the naval armament came from

<sup>1</sup> Three hundred soldiers, who could not reach the *Itius Portus* with the remainder of the army, landed lower down, and regained the camp by land, though they were attacked by 6,000 Morini. Drawn up in square they repulsed all attacks for four hours, till the cavalry, which had been sent to meet them, came to the rescue.

Spain. While the soldiers were carrying on these labours he himself held his assizes in Gallia Cisalpina, and went into the heart of Illyria to quiet the disturbances which threatened to bring on a war in that quarter. In the spring he returned to the shores of the Channel, reviewed the army,<sup>1</sup> and inspected the magazines and the fleet; the latter was composed of 600 vessels and 200 smaller boats. All was ready for embarkation, but disquieting movements took place among the Treviri, who had not sent their deputies to the assembly of the Gauls. A patriot named Indutimarus, who disputed the power with Cingetorix, the partisan of the Romans, was the moving spirit of the projected insurrection.<sup>2</sup> Cæsar hastened to this tribe by forced marches, taking with him four legions without baggage, and Indutimarus, intimidated, came forth from the impenetrable retreats of the forest of Ardennes, where he had at first taken refuge, and delivered to the proconsul 200 hostages, among whom were his son and his nearest relatives.

This affair ended, Cæsar returned to *Itius Portus*, where were assembled his eight legions and 4,000 Spanish and Gallic horse; he selected five legions and 2,000 horse to follow him to Britain, and left the remainder with Labienus, who was to guard the port, supply provisions, and keep watch over Gaul. Among the Gauls whom he wished to accompany him was Dumnorix, a restless character, who had played a part in the migration of the Helvetii, and had only then been spared at the entreaties of his brother Divitiacus. He refused to set forth under the pretext that he was unable to bear the passage, and that his religion forbade him to cross the sea; but in secret meetings he told the chiefs that they were being led to the island in order to be put to death there. Amid the confusion of embarking he escaped from the camp with the Ædnan cavalry. Cæsar had his eye on him; he immediately suspended the embarkation, fearing lest this flight should be the signal for a general revolt, and sent all his cavalry in pursuit of the fugitive, with orders to bring him back dead or alive. Dumnorix attempted to resist; he cried; "I am free and

<sup>1</sup> According to Strabo (ii. 160) the principal arsenal was at the mouth of the Seine, and as at the time of the Boulogne expedition, under Napoleon I., *pinnaces* (péniches) were built by the dwellers on the banks of the river.

<sup>2</sup> The very Gallic names of these two chiefs prove that the Treviri were not Germans, or that the Gallic element was predominant among them.



a member of a free nation ! ” He was surrounded and cut down.

The army landed in Britain on the same spot as on the first occasion, and encountered the enemy in a difficult position, behind a small river and under the shelter of a deep forest, the entrances to which were protected by great trunks of trees. The soldiers formed a *testudo* and easily carried these roughly-made ramparts ; Cæsar did not deem it prudent however, to pursue the Britons into the depths of the woods. The success of this first affair promised a speedy issue to the expedition, when horsemen riding up at full gallop announced to the proconsul that a part of his fleet had again been destroyed by a storm. He retraced his steps, sent to Labienus for workmen and fresh ships ; then, with his fleet repaired and hauled up high and dry in his camp, he returned in search of the barbarians. Thanks to this delay their numbers had strangely increased ; Cassivellaun, one of their powerful chiefs, was in command. Their manner of fighting in scattered groups and in swift chariots, whence they sprang down to despatch a wounded enemy, at first fatigued the legions. But they soon grew accustomed to this style of attack, and sought to bring about a general action, which the Britons refused. In the hopes of bringing them to an engagement Cæsar marched towards the Thames, on which the territories of Cassivellaun were situated. That chief attempted to dispute the passage of the river, and drew up his troops in good order on the opposite bank. But the Roman infantry forced their way across, probably near Windsor, where the Thames is only a narrow river, and Cassivellaun again resumed the war of surprises and rapid incursions, which threatened to famish or to ruin the legions in detail.

Fortunately, these barbarians, who were often at war with one another, had not banded together in the presence of a common enemy, and in the Roman camp there were traitors to the national cause. A young chieftain of the tribe of the Trinobantes had come to Gaul to entreat Cæsar to avenge him on Cassivellaun, who had slain his father. He had served as guide to the army, had pointed out the fords over the river, the spot where, in the midst of woods and marshes (near St. Albans), stood the *oppidum* which held the wealth of Cassivellaun ; thither Cæsar led his

legions, who seized upon it. These repeated checks, a vain attempt of the confederates upon the camp which held the Roman fleet, and the defection of several tribes, decided Cassivellaun to enter into negotiations. The Britons gave hostages, and promised an annual tribute, and the proconsul, who wanted nothing more, returned to the continent.



Map for the Expeditions into Britain.

He can only have brought back a meagre amount of spoil from the island;<sup>1</sup> but he had pointed out the road which others were to follow. His sword had opened up to the action or influence of Rome three great countries—France, England, and

<sup>1</sup> Pliny mentions however a cuirass ornamented with pearls, which he consecrated to Venus.

Germany, and it was his pen which gave the first description of them.

In his first campaign Cæsar had forced back the Helvetii upon the country which they desired to leave, and had driven the Suevi beyond the Rhine, that is to say he had subdued the east of Gaul; in the second the north had been conquered; in the third the west; in the fourth he had shown the Gauls, by his two expeditions into Britain and Germany, that they could expect nothing from their neighbours; and in the fifth he had just renewed the lesson by bearing his victorious eagles into Britain again. The Gallic war was therefore looked upon as over; but it had scarcely begun.

Hitherto a few tribes had fought separately; but all now knew that the pretexts which the Romans had employed to establish themselves in the heart of their country concealed a design for enslaving it. Carrying across the Alps the policy followed by the senate in all their conquests, the chief of the popular



Coin of Tasget.<sup>1</sup>

party at Rome had overthrown the democratic forms of government throughout the whole of Gaul, wherever he had been able to do so. Threatened by the popular classes, the aristocracy had sought support against them from Cæsar, who bestowed upon the most influential among them the Roman citizenship and his own name,<sup>2</sup> rank in the auxiliary troops, and favour in the distribution of booty. He showed them great deference and offered them enticements which charmed them; he invited them to his table and his festivals,<sup>4</sup> he favoured the elevation of the more ambitious, who afterwards delivered into his hands the independence of their cities; as did Tasget among the Carnutes, Comm among the Atrebates, Cavarin among the Senones, and Cingetorix among the Treviri. Dumnorix the Æduan had also boasted that Cæsar had promised to make him a king,



Coin of Cavarin.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Head of Apollo with an unexplained inscription. On the reverse, TASGITIOS; a flying Pegasus. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 16.)

<sup>2</sup> Hence the great number of Julian families in Gaul.

<sup>3</sup> Horse galloping. On the reverse, a branch. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 36.)

<sup>4</sup> Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 48.

and for six years the aristocracy of the Arverni restrained their people from taking part in the war of independence. Wherever a popular form of government existed, Cæsar had formed a Roman party who overruled the assembly and the senate, impeded their action and betrayed their plans.

Another means of influence which he had cleverly used was the holding of the States-General of Gaul, an annual meeting of deputies from all the tribes.<sup>1</sup> There it was that by the charm of his manners and the influence of his glory he won over the men who appeared to be freely deliberating with him about the interests of the country, but who in reality were only obeying his injunctions and legalising his demands for provisions, subsidies, and auxiliaries.

It was not so with the multitude; each defeat augmented the number of patriots, because each victory of Cæsar increased the insolence and exactions of the Roman agents. For the latter, Gaul was a virgin soil upon which they swooped down like birds of prey, and the general himself set the example.<sup>2</sup> Cæsar soon saw, however, the hatred which was slowly gathering in the depths of men's hearts; we have seen how, on his last expedition to Britain, he had taken with him those whom he mistrusted, and that Dumnorix, an Æduan nobleman, refusing to follow him, had been slain. This man was one of the chiefs of the tribe which had opened Gaul to the legions, and brother to Divitiacus, Cæsar's friend. His death showed any who might still be in doubt about it that the proconsul would crush all who refused to further his designs.

As Cæsar returned from Britain victorious, Gaul remained tranquil. This deceptive calm and the apparent resignation of the Gallie deputies at the States-General, which he held at *Samarobriva* (Amiens), in the territory of the Ambiani, led him to think that the danger was still distant. To guard against the dearth of provisions, which had been rendered scarce by the great heat, he dispersed his eight legions over a space of more than a hundred leagues: one among the Essuvii (Séez), between the Carnutes

<sup>1</sup> The Galatæ of Asia Minor had retained a similar council of 300 *principes* in conjunction with the tetrarchs. (Strabo, xii. 567.)

<sup>2</sup> *Fana templaque deûm donis referta cepit, urbes diruit, sæpius ob prædam quam ob delictum.* (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 54.)



(Chartres) and the Armoricans, four among the Treviri (Trèves), the Eburones (Liège), the Nervii, (Hainault), and the Morini (Boulogne), and three in the centre between the Oise and the Seine.

A vast conspiracy was preparing, however, the rising of all the tribes upon whom the continual presence of the legions made the foreign rule press with its whole weight. A chief of the Eburones, named Ambiorix, and Indutiomarus of the Treviri, were the moving spirits in it. They were to take up arms as soon as Cæsar was on the way to Italy, drive out his partisans—for every city had its Roman party—call in the Germans, attack the legions in their quarters, and rigorously sever communications between them. The secret was well kept, but the insurrection broke out too soon among the Carnutes. They overthrew Tasget, the agent whom the Roman had imposed upon them as king, and after a public sentence put him to death. This revealed the danger to Cæsar; he remained in Gaul. Ambiorix who thought he was already beyond the Alps, led his whole tribe to attack the camp of Sabinus and Cotta at *Aduatuca*, (Tongres); but he was repulsed. Wily as an Indian chief, he stopped the fight, demanded a conference, and feigned the most friendly sentiments towards the Romans. “I owe Cæsar gratitude,” said he: “he freed my nation from the tribute which we paid to the Aduatuci; he restored to me my son and my brother’s son who were kept in chains at Aduatuca as hostages. It is therefore against my wish that we fight. But this very day there breaks out a long premeditated and general plot.” Then he pointed out to Sabinus that the whole of Gaul was in arms, that the Germans were engaged in crossing the Rhine, and that his only means of safety lay in a prompt retreat upon the camp of Q. Cicero in the country of the Nervii.

Sabinus had a legion of newly-raised recruits, and doubtless he had little confidence in them; he allowed himself to be persuaded, and in spite of Cotta, issued from his entrenchments. The Eburones, in ambush, attacked him upon all sides and threw his troops into the greatest confusion. A portion of the legion was already destroyed when Sabinus sent to demand a new conference with the Gallic leader, who granted it. The lieutenant, tribunes, and centurions, came thither with their arms: he ordered

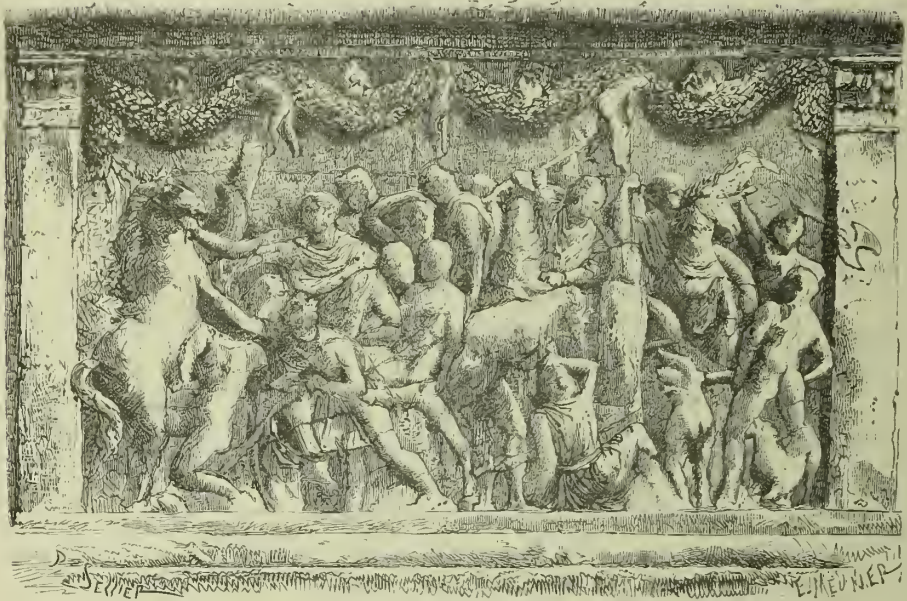
them to lay them down, and they obeyed. The conditions of the treaty were discussed, but Ambiorix prolonged the conversation for some time; when he saw that his Gauls had surrounded the troop of Sabinus, he gave the signal and they slew them. The rest of the Roman army perished fighting, a few soldiers escaped with difficulty.

Cæsar thought he had slain or sold every man among the Aduatuei and the Nervii. There were still enough of them to form, in conjunction with their former clients and the Eburones, an army of 50,000 men. Ambiorix led them up to the entrenchments of Quintus Cicero, the brother of the great orator. They tried to draw him, like Sabinus, out of his camp; they told him that the whole of Gaul had risen, that Cæsar and his lieutenants were besieged, that the Germans were already upon the left bank of the Rhine, and that the troops of Sabinus had been exterminated. It would be a dangerous illusion, said they, to expect succour from the other legions, who were themselves in a desperate situation. Moreover they had no ill-will against Cicero; they only asked that he should quit the winter-quarters which the army had made a custom of occupying; and he should have every security in retiring by whatever road he chose. Cicero replied: "The Roman people are not in the habit of accepting conditions from an enemy. Let them lay down their arms and send deputies to Cæsar, he would intercede for them, and would doubtless obtain from his justice what they sought." The reply was a proud one; his acts answered to his words, and whereas Sabinus had perished with all his men by yielding, Q. Cicero by his firmness saved Cæsar, his legion, and himself.

His camp must be taken by force; the Nervii surrounded it with a rampart eleven feet high and a trench fifteen feet deep and 15,000 paces in circuit. To dig this they had neither instruments nor tools; they cut the turf with their swords and carried the earth in their *saga*. And Cæsar asserts, unless there be some error in the text, that this immense work was executed in three hours. His engineering lessons had indeed been of great profit to the Gauls.

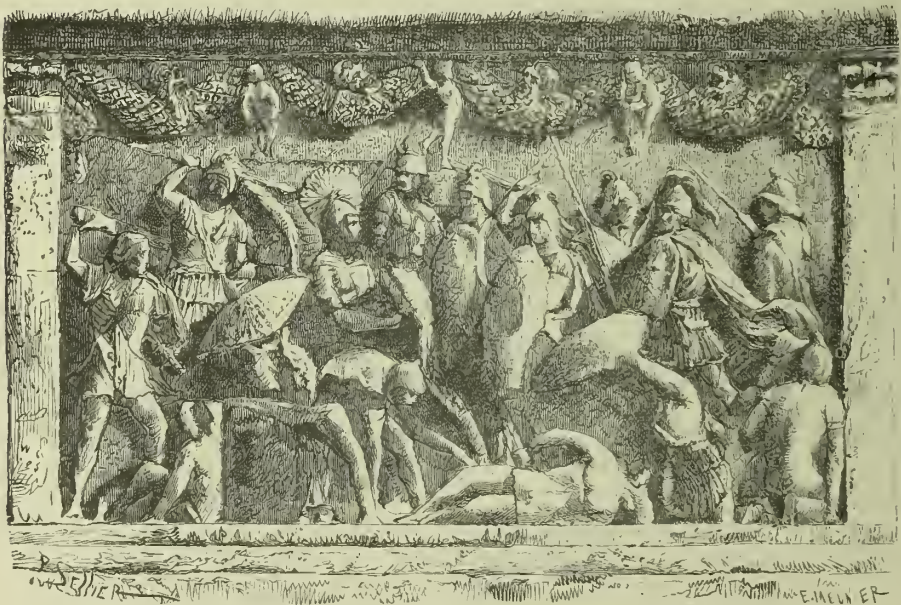
On the seventh day, as a violent wind had arisen, they threw over the entrenchments red-hot balls of clay and flaming javelins. The huts of the soldiers, which were covered with straw in the

Gallie manner, were soon in flames. At the same time the Nervii



Bas-relief from the Monument of the Julii : Episode in the Gallic War.<sup>1</sup>

with great shouts rolled their towers to the foot of the rampart



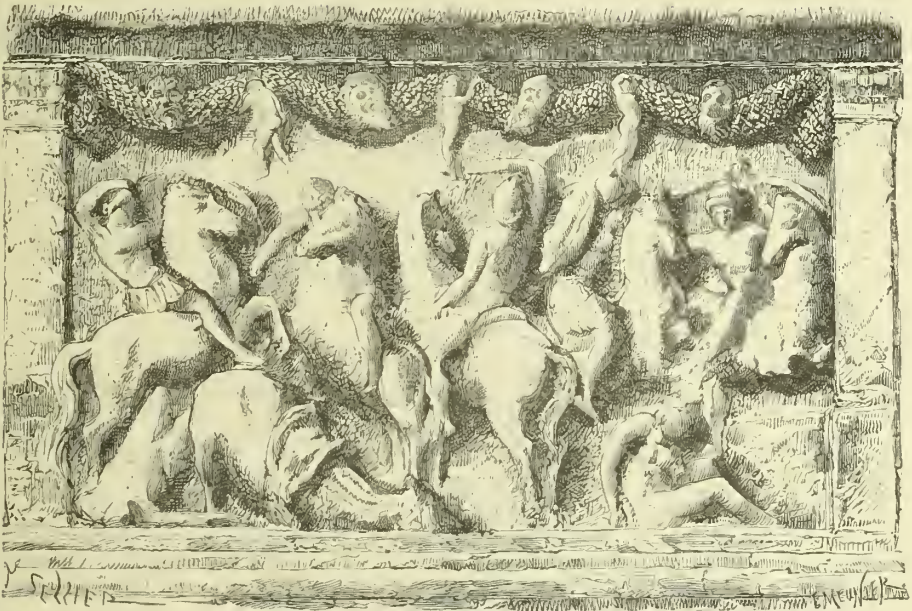
Bas-relief from the Monument of the Julii : Episode in the Gallic War.

and formed a *testudo* to attempt an escalade. But not a soldier

<sup>1</sup> The monument engraved on p. 175, from which the bas-reliefs here given are copied,

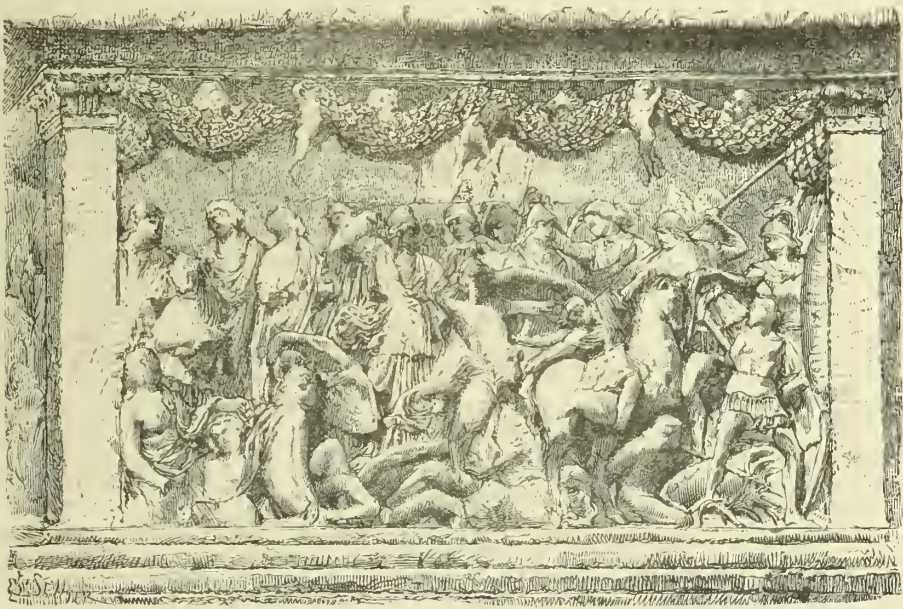


had quitted the parapet to snatch any part of his baggage from the



Bas-relief from the Monument of the Julii: Episode in the Gallic War.

fire; the foe was stopped and driven back. At the same time,



Bas-relief from the Monument of the Julii: Episode in the Gallic War.

Indutiomarus, among the Treviri, overthrew his rival Cingetorix, is a tomb of a Gaul whom Cæsar had made a Roman citizen, and of his wife, set up by their



raised the tribe in revolt and threatened the camp of Labienus. The thirteenth legion, among the Essuvii, also saw that the Armorican cities were becoming restless, and among the Senones, Acco drove out Cavarin the friend of the Romans. On the north and east of the Loire the movement was general.

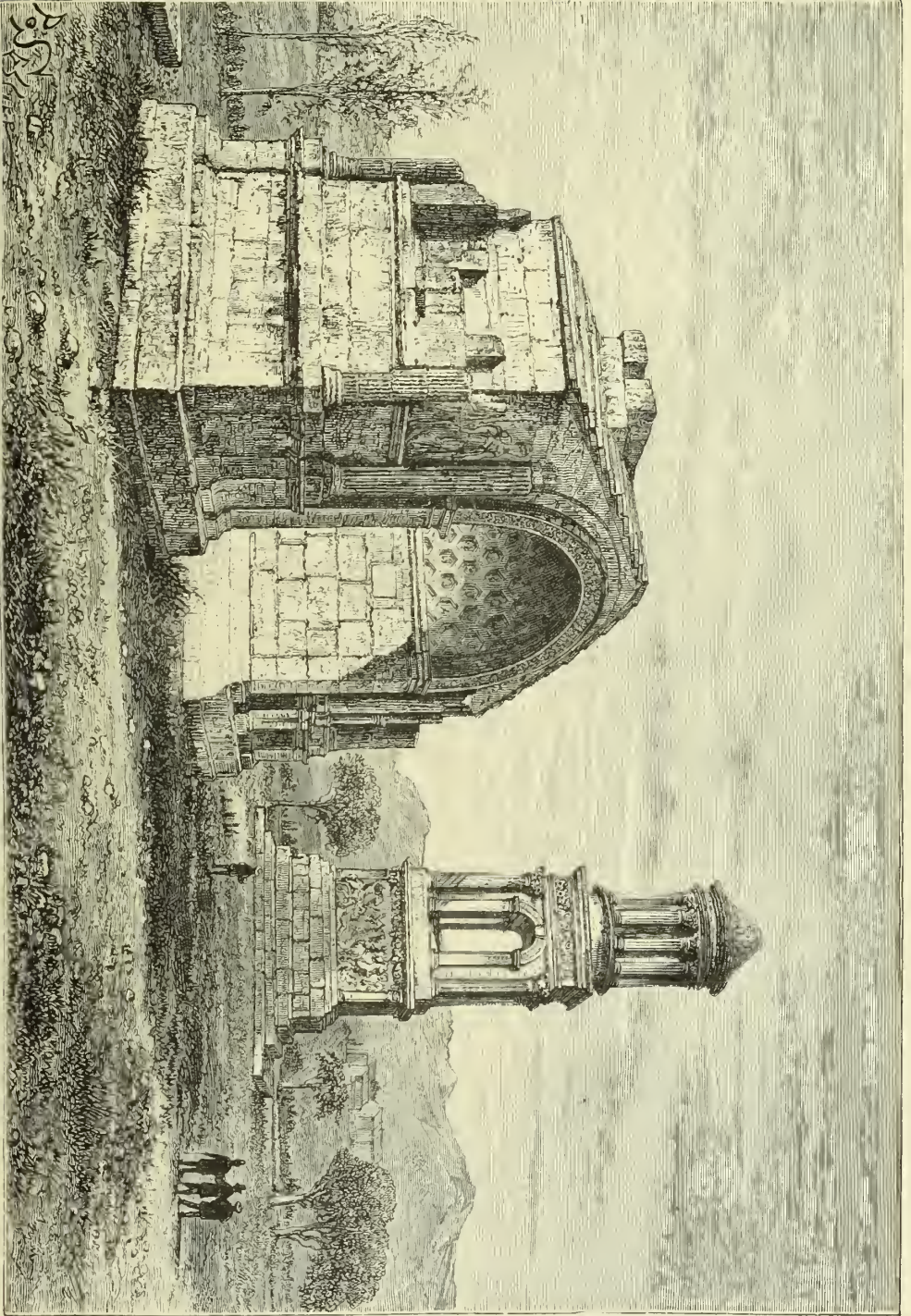
The Ædui and the Remi alone remained faithful, or, as the Gauls said, were the only traitors to the national cause.

In spite of his vigilance Cæsar knew nothing. One of his legions had been destroyed twelve days before; Q. Cicero had been besieged for a week, and yet the concerted action had been so well arranged that no news of the disaster, which was already circulating among the nations of Gaul, had reached him: not a messenger had succeeded in arriving at head-quarters at Samarobriva. A Gallic slave however passed through, and apprised the proconsul of the extremity to which his lieutenant was reduced. Cæsar had at hand only two incomplete legions, scarcely seven thousand men, and the besiegers numbered 60,000; nevertheless he at once hastened forward. He had induced a Gallic horseman to take charge of a despatch written to Cicero in Greek, that the besiegers might not understand it if it fell into their hands. He had enjoined him, in case he could not penetrate to the lieutenant, to fasten the letter to his javelin and throw it into the camp. The shaft remained fixed in a tower for two days without being noticed; when it was at length brought to Cicero, who read to his troops Cæsar's three words: "Courage, help approaches."

The burning of their dwellings announced to the Nervii the general's approach; they advanced to meet him, and he feigning terror hid himself in a camp, the boundary of which he purposely made smaller than usual, and walled up the gates with clods of turf. Emboldened by these signs of fear, the barbarians advanced without order and on disadvantageous ground; a vigorous sortie dispersed them, and the victors easily reached the camp of Cicero, where not one soldier in ten was without some wound.<sup>1</sup>

three sons. The bas-reliefs represent battles in which this Gaul had probably taken part; unfortunately they are very much mutilated. The Museum of Saint-Germain possesses casts of them. The archaic orthography of the inscription cannot be later than the early years of the reign of Augustus. St. Remy possesses another monument called a triumphal arch, but which was no doubt only one of the town gates of Glanum.

<sup>1</sup> Napoleon says, in his *Précis des guerres de César*: "The arms of our soldiers have as



Arch and Mausoleum of the Julii at Saint-Rémy (*Vivarium*).





Cæsar had reached Cicero's camp after three o'clock in the afternoon; before midnight the acclamations of the Remi announced to Labienus, who was sixty miles away (fifty-five English miles), Cæsar's victory and the end of the danger. The report of this double success put a stop in fact to all actual movements. But the whole of Gaul was agitated; the tribes exchanged secret embassies; the Carnutes had slain their king, a friend of the Romans; the Senones had condemned Cavarinus, whom Cæsar had set over them, to death, and the Treviri were pressing

much strength and vigour as those of the ancient Romans; our pioneers' tools are the same; we have a new agent, gunpowder. We can therefore raise ramparts, dig ditches, cut down woods and build towers in as short a time and as well as they could, but the weapons of offence of the moderns have a very different power and act in a very different manner to those of the ancients.

"The Romans owe their constant success to the method, from which they never departed, of camping every night in a fortified camp, of never giving battle without having in their rear an entrenched camp to serve as a retreat and to hold their stores, their baggage, and their wounded. The nature of weapons in that age was such that in these camps they were not only sheltered from the assaults of an army equal in strength, but even of one superior. They were in a position to fight or to wait for a favourable opportunity. . . .

"Why has so wise a rule been abandoned by modern generals? Because weapons of offence have undergone a change in their nature; hand-weapons were the chief arms of the ancients; with his short sword the legionary conquered the world; with the Macedonian spear Alexander subdued Asia. The principal arm of modern armies is the projectile, the gun, which is superior to any that man has ever invented; no defensive arm can ward off its effects. . . .

"The principal weapon of the ancients being the sword or the spear, their usual formation was in deep order. The legion, or phalanx, in whatsoever situation it might be attacked, in front or on the right or left flank, faced about in any direction without disadvantage; it could camp on spaces of small extent, in order to have less trouble in fortifying them all round. . . . The soldiers, by each working at most thirty minutes, fortified the camp and placed it beyond reach of assault.

"The principal weapon of the moderns being the projectile, their usual order is necessarily the open one.

"If the Romans were almost constantly beaten by the Parthians, it was because the Parthians were all armed with a projectile superior to that of the Roman army, so that the shields of the legions could not ward it off. The legions, armed with their short swords, fell beneath a shower of arrows to which they could oppose nothing, since they were only armed with javelins (or *pilum*). . . .

"A consular army shut up in its camp and attacked by a modern army of equal strength would be driven out of it without an assault and without coming to a hand-to-hand fight, for its camp would be the receptacle of every shot, every bullet, every cannon-ball; fire, destruction, and death would open the gates and overthrow the entrenchments. . . . Fire from a centre to a circumference is nothing, but fire from a circumference to a centre is irresistible.

"These considerations have decided modern generals to renounce the system of entrenched camps, and to supply their place by natural positions carefully chosen.

"A Roman camp was independent of localities; anywhere was good for armies whose strength lay in hand-weapons: neither quick perception nor military genius were needed to camp well; whereas the choice of positions, the manner of occupying them and of disposing the various arms, taking advantage of the circumstances of the ground, is an art in which part of the genius of a modern leader consists."

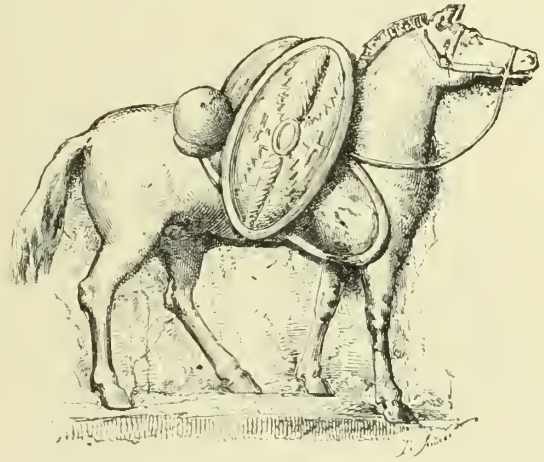


the Germans to hasten their coming. The proconsul deemed it prudent to pass that winter in Gaul; he took up his quarters at Samarobriva, within reach of those tribes of Belgium and Armorica, in whom the death of Sabinus had raised such great hopes. Only the Remi and the Ædui never wavered in their fidelity, for which they would have paid dearly had Cæsar been conquered. Even before the spring had arrived, Indutiomar made the Treviri take up arms and attacked the camp of Labienus. The latter imitating his leader's tactics, allowed himself for several days to be assaulted by the Gauls, who came up to the very foot of the rampart and challenged him. But one evening as Indutiomar was retiring in careless order with some of his men, Labienus sent out his cavalry at full gallop, promising great reward to any man who would bring him back the head of the hostile leader. The chief fell covered with wounds; his death dispersed his army, and stopped the Eburones, the Nervii, the Aduatuci, and the Menapii, who were already on the march to join him.

To the general assembly which the proconsul held at Samarobriva, the Senones, the Carnutes, and the Treviri refused to send their deputies; this was a declaration of war. Cæsar accepted it with joy, for he needed to raise the reputation of his arms by brilliant successes, and had prepared himself during the winter by calling up three fresh legions from Italy. He prorogued the parliament, the next meeting of which he fixed to take place at Lutetia among the *Parisii*: this is the first appearance in history of our great city, and the founder of the Roman Empire is the first to pronounce its name.

From Samarobriva Cæsar quickly reached the country of the Senones. They had not completed their preparations; they asked for peace; the proconsul had determined to make a severe example of this tribe; but the intervention of the Ædui, their former allies, saved them. The Carnutes also owed their safety to the mediation of the Remi. But the two tribes delivered up all their cavalry and numerous hostages. The wrath of the proconsul fell upon Ambiorix and the Eburones. To make his vengeance complete he surrounded them. The Menapii, their neighbours on the north, who alone of all the Gauls had never sent deputies to Cæsar, were assailed by five legions. Being surprised and driven

into their woods they sued for peace. The Treviri bordered on the territory of the Menapii; led on by a ruse of Labienus to engage in battle in an unfavourable spot, they lost a great number of men and were compelled to accept as king Cingetorix, whom they had expelled. Then turning eastward in order to close Germany against the nation whom he wished to proscribe, Cæsar threw a bridge over the Rhine, scoured the other bank for some distance, forbade the tribes who dwelt there to have any relations with Gaul, and then, certain that the Eburones could not escape him, he returned to them. His cavalry went ahead and fell like a thunderbolt into the midst of this people doomed to extermination, whilst the ten legions surrounded the country, and drawing closer and closer together, burnt and slew all they came across. Cæsar, who called this valiant tribe "an impious race," invited the neighbouring nations to help him in the work of destruction. The villages were burnt, the grain was cut, and for several months man-hunting was carried on in the immense forest of *Arduenna*, into which the Eburones had plunged. Ambiorix escaped across the Rhine, there to await better days.



Pack-horse carrying Shields (Trajan's Column).

Returning to the territory of the Remi, Cæsar called together the general assembly, and, with an empty semblance of justice, made it judge the Senonian Acco. The sentence was dictated beforehand; Acco was beaten with rods and beheaded. Civil and religious excommunications were issued against his accomplices and the authors of the rising among the Carnutes who had not been seized.

Acco, Chief of the Senones.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Youthful head. On the reverse, [ECC]AIOΣ, and a horseman brandishing a sword. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 41.)

## VII.—SEVENTH CAMPAIGN : GENERAL RISING (52 B.C.).

These executions increased the hatred of the Roman name. During the winter which Cæsar passed in Italy a second rising was arranged in numerous secret meetings; the Gauls were at length uniting. It was very late, but yet they were on the verge of succeeding.

It was known that at Rome an increasing misunderstanding existed between Cæsar and Pompey, and that the proconsul of the Gauls would perhaps be detained in Italy by a civil war. The legions were not dispersed as in the preceding year; two were encamped among the Treviri, two among the Lingones; the remaining six in the territory of the Senones; and as the winter closed the passes of the Alps and the Cevennes, it was hoped that if the movement were general they would be surprised and crushed before Cæsar could join them.

The rising went forth from the Druidic centre of Gaul, in the country of the Carnutes, who had lately been overwhelmed with requisitions. On the day appointed this tribe fell upon *Cenabum* (Orleans), a trading town on the banks of the Loire, and massacred the Italian merchants, who had flocked thither in great numbers. The same evening the news, carried from village to village by criers stationed along the roads, reached Gergovia, 147 miles distant.

Here there lived a young and noble Arvernian; tall in stature, martial in air, his very name was of good augury; he was called "the great chief of the brave"<sup>1</sup>—Vercingetorix. His father had perished in the attempt to usurp the royalty, and yet the son was filled with a like ambition. Being a personal friend of Cæsar, he had no doubt contributed to keep the Arverni at peace during the first campaigns; but seeing the agitation of the popular party throughout Gaul and the success which Ambiorix had been on the verge of obtaining, he perceived that there was a great part to play. In public assemblies and religious meetings he allowed his idea to be inferred rather than expressed. But it was revealed in secret councils, where, as the reward of their

<sup>1</sup> Such is the meaning given to this name by M. de Belloguet.

courage, he held before the eyes of his party Arvernia raised from her low estate, and placed at the head of the Gallie nations whom she had rescued from foreign slavery.

As soon as he heard of the massacre at Cenabum he armed his clients and proclaimed insurrection in Gergovia. The nobles,



Map of the Campaign of 52 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

and even his uncle, refused to associate themselves with his designs, and were sufficiently powerful to drive him from the town. He raised the country people, and Cæsar, who on this occasion is unjust to his greatest adversary, speaks of him as forming an army of the dregs of the populace and men overwhelmed with debt. They were certainly a concourse of poor men, but they

<sup>1</sup> Napoleon III., *Histoire de Cæsar*, vol. i. p. 113.



were those who refused to submit to the foreigner's rule, and they must have formed the great majority of the nation, since they overcame the opposition of the nobles without recourse to arms. Vercingetorix, re-entering Gergovia with them, was then proclaimed



Vercingetorix.<sup>1</sup>

king, and became the leading spirit of the holy war. He sent urgent messages to all the tribes; he reminded them of the oaths they had sworn; pointed out the favourable-ness of the occasion and the necessity for throwing off the yoke. From the Garonne

to the Seine every city responded to his appeal, and the conduct of the war was entrusted to him.

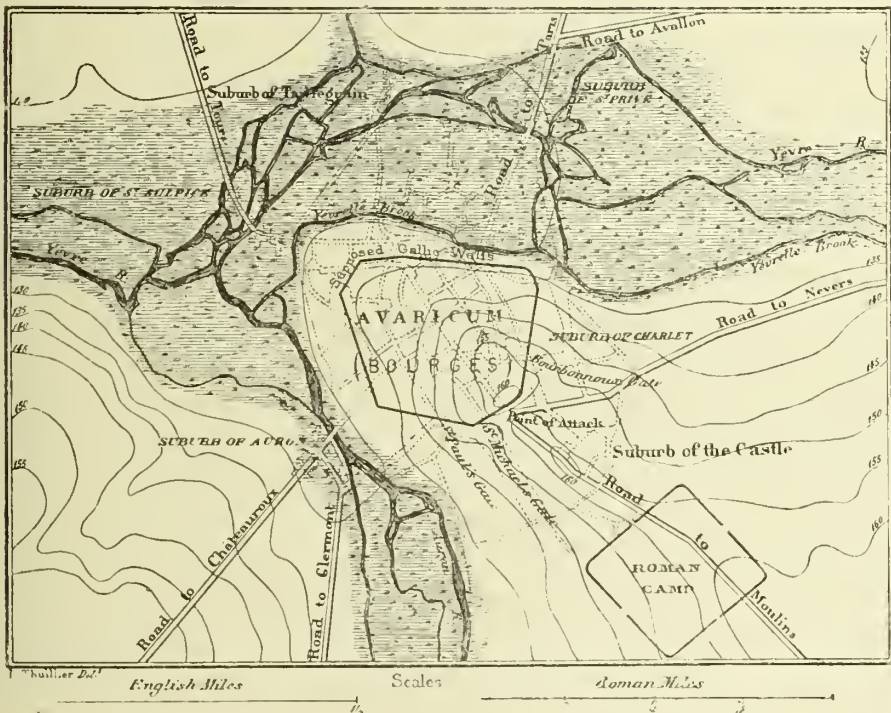
Thus the Arverni and the people of central Gaul, who had hitherto remained outside the struggle, were about to take part in it for the first time. These defections gave the Gauls of the north fresh courage. In spite of the presence of ten legions, the chiefs of the Bellovaci and Treviri, led on by the example of Comm, king of the Atrebatas, who had long been the faithful ally of Caesar, prepared their people for insurrection. Labienus thought to avert it by having Comm assassinated, but the Gaul survived his wounds to exact vengeance for them.

Cæsar had at length found a worthy foe. Vercingetorix imitated the wonderful activity of the proconsul; he collected provisions and arms, he fixed the numbers of contingents, took hostages, set to work to raise a formidable cavalry corps, and organized the whole league in a way very different from the earlier attempts of the Gauls. But, granting no man the right to spare himself, or to desert the cause of his country, he showed himself severe even to the point of cruelty. Traitors perished by fire or tortures; for a slight fault he caused a man's ears to be cut off or his eyes put out, and then sent him home, that the sight of his punishment might be a warning.

Vercingetorix had acquired his great authority only because he represented the national feeling. Priests and nobles had abandoned Gaul; the people rose up to save her, and gathered round the young hero, who both revealed his hatred for the

<sup>1</sup> We have nearly twenty coins of Vercingetorix, and the resemblance between the faces upon them suggests that they represent his features. (De Saulcy, *ibid.*, No. 62.)

foreigner, and displayed superior talents for organization. His plan of attack was skilful; one of his lieutenants, Lucterius, descended southwards towards the Province, which he was to invade, whilst he himself marched northward against the legions. On his way he halted to raise the Bituriges (Berry), who were clients of the Ædui; in this he succeeded, and the great town of Avaricum opened its gates to him. But this delay allowed Cæsar

Lucterius, Chief of the Cadurci.<sup>1</sup>Plan of Avaricum.<sup>2</sup>

time to arrive from Italy. The præconsul had no fear this time that his legions, massed as they were at three points, not far distant from one another, and kept on the alert by the gravity of the circumstances, would let themselves be taken by surprise; he took time to organize the defence of Narbonensis. A few days indeed, sufficed him to see and do everything; to drive away the enemy, cross the Cevennes, in spite of six feet of snow, and

<sup>1</sup> LVXTERIOS. On the reverse, a horse; above, an ornament. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 44.)

<sup>2</sup> Napoleon III., *Histoire de Cæsar*, pl. 18.

carry devastation into the territory of the Arverni (winter of 53—52 B.C.).

Vercingetorix was still among the Bituriges when this news reached him. Constrained by the murmurs of his soldiers, he hastened to protect their homes. Cæsar was gone; he had crossed the mountains for the second time, obtained a corps of cavalry at Vienne, and, making forced marches along the Rhone and Saône, had, without declaring his presence, traversed the whole country of the Ædui, whose intentions he began to suspect. Already he was in the midst of his legions, and the Belgæ suspended their warlike preparations.

The audacity and activity of the proconsul had foiled the Gallic general's double project. The latter, less eager now to advance northwards, laid siege to the city of the Boii, *Gorgobina*.

Cæsar had concentrated his forces at *Agedincum* (Sens). He warned the Boii of his impending arrival, and hastened forward with eight legions. By the bridge of Genabum, Cæsar crossed the Loire and took Noviodunum (Sancerre?), the first town of the Bituriges which he came upon; Vercingetorix, hastening up to save it, witnessed its fall, and saw that with such a foeman another kind of warfare was required. In one day twenty of their towns were given up to the flames by the Bituriges themselves, and it was decided that upon the approach of the Romans each tribe should imitate this heroic devotion. They wanted to starve the enemy and compel them to send out distant expeditions in search of provisions, which would allow them to destroy the army in detail. But this resolution, which would have ruined Cæsar, was not fully carried out; Avaricum, the capital of the country, was spared. "Do not compel us to destroy with our own hands the most beautiful town in Gaul," said the inhabitants to the council of the army; "we swear to you that we will defend and save it." The council yielded; Cæsar immediately hastened thither. Although situated in a plain, this town (Bourges), protected as it was by two rivers and some pools, was difficult of access; the bravest warriors of the Bituriges had shut themselves up in it, and the great Gallic army was encamped a few leagues away, behind the legions, and ceaselessly threw men and provisions into the place. At the end of a few days Cæsar found himself in









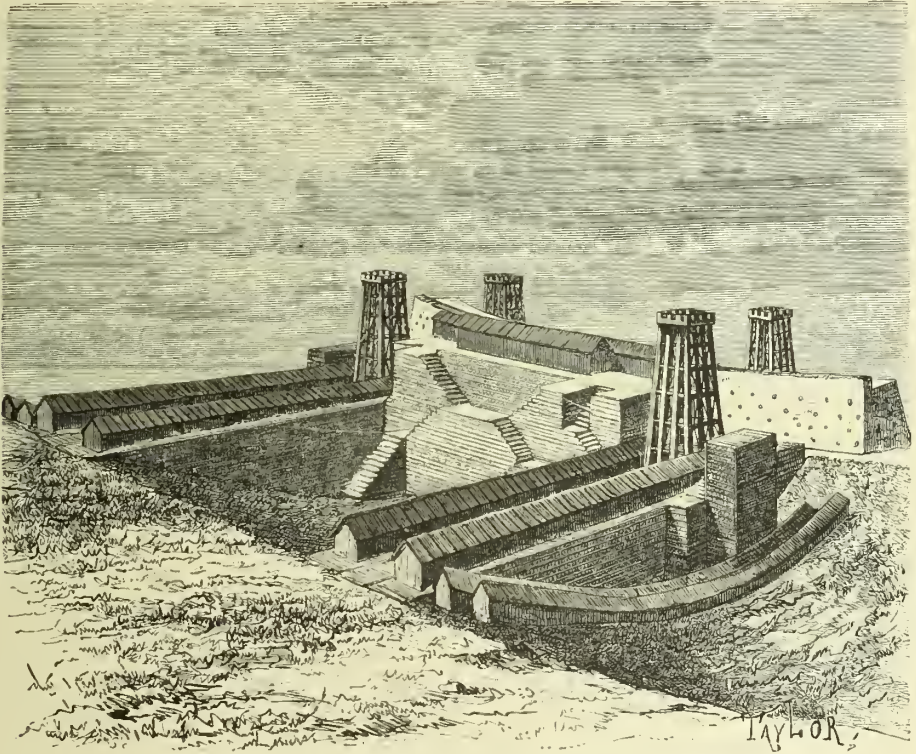
ROVJAT pinx'

ROMAN LEGIONARY

Imp. Fraillery.



such a critical position that he proposed to his soldiers to raise the siege; they refused with one voice, as if he had required some cowardly act. Satisfied with this proof, the proconsul vigorously pushed on the gigantic works which the Roman soldiers knew how to carry out. In twenty-five days they built towers for attack and an earthwork 330 feet long and 80 feet in height. Already it was



Works of Approach of the Romans <sup>1</sup> (Museum of Saint-Germain).

close upon the walls, when one night the besieged set fire to it by means of a mine. But the Romans were on the alert, and after a terrible fight they remained in possession of their works. Caesar relates how a Gaul, placed before one of the gates, threw balls of tallow and pitch into a flaming tower to make it burn more fiercely. Struck by a shaft from a scorio, he fell; another immediately took

<sup>1</sup> The drawing represents [hypothetically] a portion of Gallic wall in which the stones are intermixed with beams (see p. 128); upon this wall the besieged have raised two towers to counteract those of the besiegers which overtop the ramparts, in order to drive back the defenders with arrows and stones. The *vinæ*, or covered galleries, are carried up to the foot of the ramparts, that the soldiers they shelter may make a breach in it.



his place ; a third succeeded him when he too, fell mortally wounded ; then a fourth, and as long as the action lasted this fatal post never remained empty for a single instant.

Cæsar was less dismayed at their courage than at their aptness in imitating every art of the Romans for rendering the siege useless. "They turned aside our battering-rams with nooses," says he, "and when they had entangled them they drew them within their walls with machines. They came right under our earthworks by mining, a kind of work which is familiar to them on account of the iron mines in which their country abounds. They had lined their walls with towers covered with leather. Night and day they made sorties, set fire to our works, or attacked out-works. As our towers rose upon the earth-work they built up

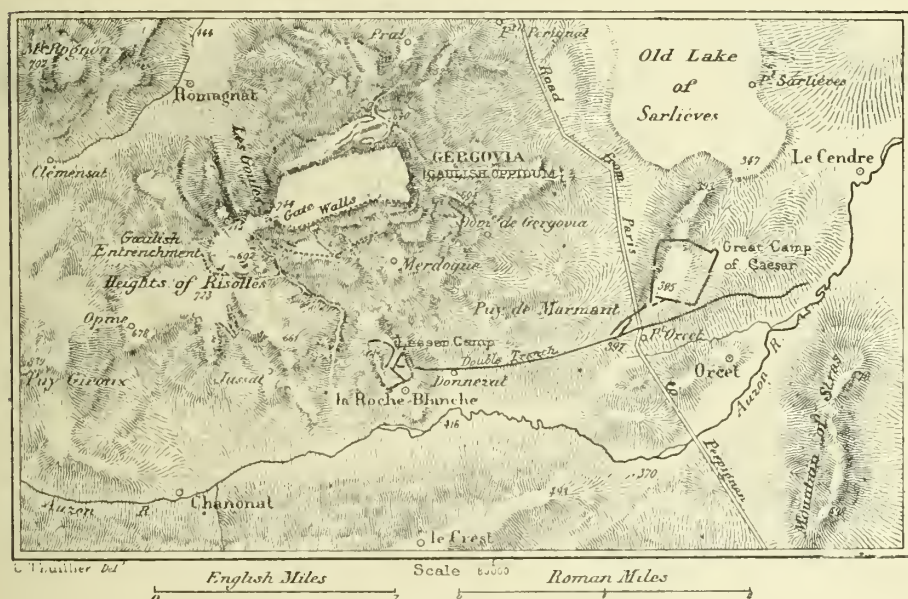


Soldiers Working at the Construction of an *Agger* (from the Column of Trajan).

on their walls scaffoldings made of beams, which they bound together with skill. If we opened a mine they discovered it and filled the road which our miners were taking with pointed stakes hardened in the fire, boiling pitch, or rocks, which stopped our work and hindered us from advancing." The garrison however grew tired ; they sent word to Vercingetorix that they could hold out no longer, and received orders to quit the town. But before they could obey them Cæsar took advantage of a cold and rainy day to order a general assault. The place was taken ; of the 40,000 soldiers and inhabitants which it contained, scarcely 800 reached the Gallic camp.

The provisions which Cæsar found at Avaricum supplied him for the rest of the winter (early months of 52 B.C.). When the

spring came on he was about to recommence offensive operations when troubles broke out among the Ædui. An election to the magistracy of that State threatened to bring about a civil war which might paralyze Rome's oldest allies in Gaul. Being chosen arbiter he repaired to *Decetia* (Decize), on the Ædnan territory, because the law forbade the Vergobret to cross the frontier, and decided in favour of the candidate who seemed to have the greatest number of adherents: this was Convictolitan, whom the magistrates and priests had chosen. In return he demanded of the Ædni all their cavalry and 10,000 foot-soldiers to escort his provision trains.



Plan of Gergovia.<sup>1</sup>

“Great favours,” said he, “shall reward your services after the war.”

These services were great, for by not wavering throughout the whole war, the Ædni and Sequani had ensured Caesar free communications with the province. As long as the broad road of the valley of the Saône remained open to him he could plunge without fear into the north or centre of the country. He even considered himself strong enough, after the capture of Avaricum, to divide his forces. Labienus with four legions marched from

<sup>1</sup> Napoleon III., *Histoire de César*, pl. 19.

the country of the Senones against the *Parisii*, whom Vercingetorix had stirred up to revolt, whilst he himself led the remaining six against the Arverni through the valley of the Allier. The Gallic generalissimo had broken down all the bridges, and now followed along the left bank all the movements of the legions on the opposite side. Cæsar stole a march on him and crossed the river; he could not, however, induce him to accept battle in the plain, and when he appeared before the capital of the league, Gergovia of the Arverni, a league and a half to the south of Clermont-Ferrand, the Gallic army covered it.

The plateau on which Gergovia lay was 1,640 yards long, and about 546 broad. It rose 1,246 feet above the plain, and 2,394 feet above the sea, between the present villages of Romagnat, Orcet and Chamonat, with steep slopes on two sides and difficult of access on the others. A wall six feet high, built of rough stones, protected the approach to the *oppidum*, on the declivity where the attack must be made. One extremity of it terminated among inaccessible heights; the other ended on Mount Risolles, at an altitude equal to that of the plateau of Gergovia. A neck of land only 130 yards in breadth formed the means of communication between the two plateaux. Vercingetorix encamped on that of Risolles, and an outpost stationed at the Roche-Blanche allowed him to obtain supplies of forage and water from the valley of the Auzon. The Romans halted opposite to him, also in the neighbourhood of the Auzon. From their lines they could see the army of Vercingetorix ranged along the slopes, and every morning at sunrise they could recognize the officers who came to the general's tent to receive his instructions.<sup>1</sup> Cæsar had taught the Gauls how to entrench themselves. On beholding these heights, each bearing the contingent of a city and surrounded by solid defences, he had a moment of uneasiness. "It was a formidable sight," says he.

His first care was to capture by night the post of Roche-Blanche, leave a strong contingent there, and dig between that hill and his principal camp a double trench twelve feet deep, which

<sup>1</sup> The Gauls had adopted Roman customs. It was usual for a tribune to come each morning by order to the proconsul or prætor in command of the army and deliver into his hands the muster-rolls. (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 45.)



allowed him to go from one position to the other under cover. Numerous machines arranged along the ramparts were held in readiness to sweep the plain; they were destined shortly to save the army.

Litavicus, the leader of the Æduan auxiliaries sent to Cæsar's camp, had fomented an insurrection among his troops, and was desirous of leading them over to Vercingetorix. The proconsul being warned of this dangerous plot hastened with four legions without baggage to meet the insurgents, and brought them back to his own side. But notwithstanding the precautions which had been taken to conceal the departure of the principal forces of the Romans, it had not escaped Vercingetorix. He too had seen what was going on in Cæsar's lines, and had taken advantage of his absence to attack them. Fabius the lieutenant had made a skilful use of the two legions which remained to him; he had repulsed all assaults, thanks to the machines, the artillery of the Romans, but he had been reduced to walling up the gates, which was only resorted to in cases of great danger, and he called Cæsar back in all haste. On the following day the proconsul reappeared; he had marched forty-six miles, going and returning in twenty-four hours.

Litavicus.<sup>1</sup>

He had thus escaped two dangers; the Æduan sedition led him to foresee another and greater one, an insurrection—a general one this time—of Gaul. He was thinking, therefore, of abandoning the siege in order to draw the foe into the plain, when, during a visit to the works of a smaller camp, he perceived that by seizing a hill (above Merdogne), whence the Gauls had retired to concentrate on the plateau of Risolles, he could reach the outer wall, which was easy to surmount, and attack one of the gates of the *oppidum*. The attempt, however, cost the proconsul 700 men, of whom forty-six were centurions.

Teutomatus,  
King of the Nitiobriges.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Litavicus, chief of the Ædui. Head of Venus on the right; a sceptre in front of the face. On the reverse, LITAVICOS galloping and carrying the national standard, the wild-boar ensign. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 14.)

<sup>2</sup> Votomapis, king of the Nitiobriges, called by Cæsar Teutomatus. Bust of the chief. On the reverse, . . . OMAPATIS; free horse galloping; underneath, a bird. (De Sauley,



It was a check; he imputed it to his legionaries, which was an injustice; he reproached them for not having ceased the fight as soon as he had sounded the retreat. But all could not hear the signal, and the arrangements he had made showed his intention of carrying the place by a rapid *coup de main*.

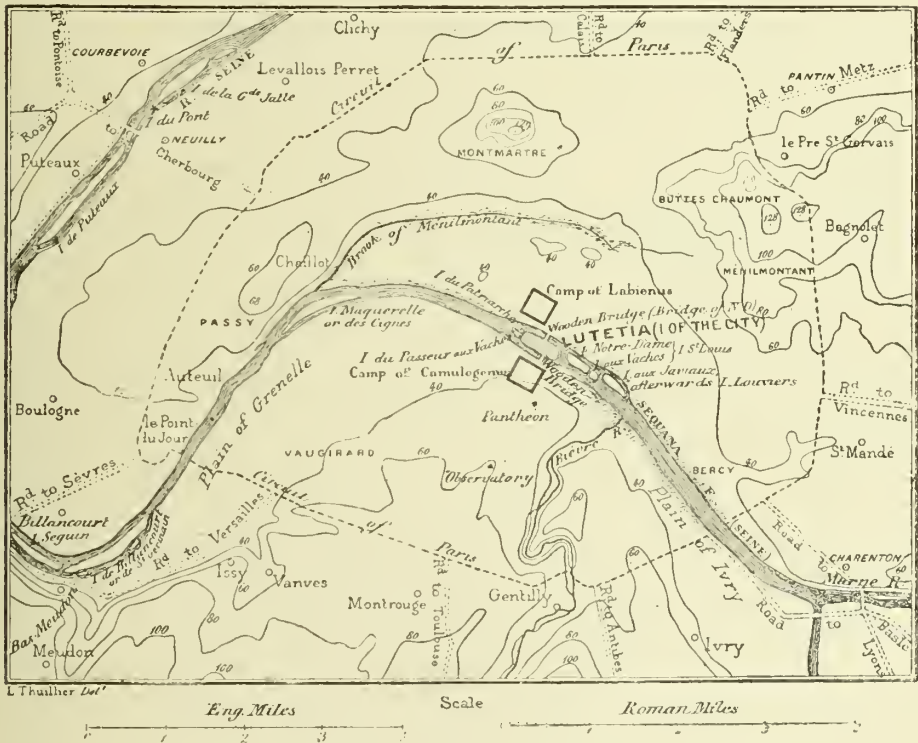
Two days after Cæsar offered battle to Vercingetorix in the plain, but the latter carefully avoided accepting it, and contented himself with skirmishing with his cavalry. "Judging from this," says the proconsul, "that the boasting of the Gauls was humbled and the courage of his own men confirmed," he marched towards the country of the Ædui, in order to get nearer to Labienus who was eighty leagues distant, and hastened to place the Allier between himself and the great Gallic army.

This backward march looked like a defeat, and the emissaries of Vercingetorix proclaimed it everywhere as such. The Ædui thought Cæsar's fortune would not recover from the blow, and fearing lest the Gallic cause should triumph without them, they decided upon going over to the national party, bearing with them as a pledge of alliance the news of the massacre in all Ædunan towns of Cæsar's recruits, the Italian merchants, and the hostages of the Remi, who had remained faithful to their Roman friends.

This defection placed the army in serious peril, shut in as it was upon the delta formed by the Loire and the Allier, then swollen with the rains, at their junction, and by the Cevennes whence they both descend. Beyond the Allier was the victorious army of Vercingetorix; beyond the Loire the country of the Ædui in revolt; there were no provisions, and no passage, for the town of *Noviodunum* of the Ædui (Nevers), where were his stores, baggage, the treasure-chest of the army, and a bridge by which he had counted upon crossing the river had just been destroyed. Many advised him therefore to return into the province. He thought that if he could affect a junction with the army of Labienus he would always be strong enough, with a body of ten legions, to reopen the road to Gallia Narbonensis; and then he had embarked his whole political fortune in this war; if he were conquered in Gaul he would be proscribed at Rome. He rejected therefore every project

*ibid.*, No. 45.) The legend on the left, C. AIV IVLI, shows that this chief, who was made a citizen by Cæsar, took his name. (*de Bell. Gall.*, vii. 31, 46.)

of retreat, and advanced boldly into the north, leaving 100,000 Gauls between him and the province. By careful search he found a ford across the Loire; the water rose to the soldiers' armpits, but the cavalry stationed higher up stream broke the force of the current. Then he reached by forced marches the country of the Senones, the capital of which, *Agedincum* (Sens), contained the depôts of the legions of Labienus. That able lieutenant was returning thither, receding like Cæsar before the revolt of all the tribes of the north.



Plan of the Battle of Lutetia.

The northern league had for its leader the Aulercian Camulogenus, an old warrior, active and skilful, who had made his headquarters at Lutetia. That town was then confined to an island in the Seine; Labienus at first tried to reach it by following the left bank of the river. Being stopped by the Gauls before the marshes of Essonne or l'Orge, he retreated as far as *Melodunum* (Melun), seized all the boats he found upon the river, took that town, which like Lutetia was situated on an island in the river,

and crossed over to the other side to attack the town of the *Parisii* from the north. The position was easy of access on that side, and the boats he brought with him from Melun served for crossing the Marne, the only obstacle on the right bank of the Seine which could have stopped him. Camulogenus feared lest he should be stormed in his stronghold, he burnt the town and the two bridges and then retired to the heights of the left bank, the highest point of which is now marked by the Pantheon and the Observatory. He knew the Bellovaci were arming in the rear of Labienus, and he was desirous of forcing that general to accept battle with a great river behind him and hemmed in by two armies.

But Labienus eluded his vigilance. Whilst five cohorts, the baggage, and some of the boats, went up the Seine with a great noise, others slipped silently down towards Point-du-Jour in the first watch, about ten o'clock at night. Boats carried them across the great arm of the river, into the islands



Coin of Camulogenus, Chief of the Aulerci.<sup>1</sup>

of Billancourt and Séguin, which served as a curtain to screen their passage. Three legions massed in this shelter rapidly crossed the small arm and suddenly descended upon the left bank. A violent storm had made the darkness deeper and drowned the noise. At first they found only sentinels, who were captured. When the sun appeared, the Roman army was drawn up in battle array in the plain of Grenelle, whence by a gentle ascent it could reach the plateau, turning the position of Camulogenus by the plain of Montrouge.

The old general, deceived by the movements further up the Seine, had sent part of his forces in that direction; with the remainder he tried to drive the Romans back into the river. The action was a bloody one; Camulogenus and almost all his warriors perished in it. By this success Labienus only secured his retreat; he hastened to reach the territory of the Senones where Cæsar had already arrived.<sup>2</sup>

A fresh assembly of all the deputies of Gaul confirmed Vercingetorix in his command. Three tribes alone avoided appearing

<sup>1</sup> Head of Apollo. On the reverse, CAMBIL, and a lion. Attributed, but not with certainty, to Camulogenus. (De Saulcy, *ibid.*, No. 43.)

<sup>2</sup> Napoleon III. places their uniting point at Joigny; the Duc d'Aumale at Vitry-la-Ville.

thereat: the Lingones, the Remi and the Treviri. Through their instrumentality Cæsar, who stood in need of cavalry, hired several bands of Germans whom he mounted upon the horses of his tribunes and knights. He now thought, however, of effecting a retreat upon the province, which Vercingetorix attacked from three points at once. The Gallic generalissimo had ordered the Ædui and the Segusiavi, their clients, to stir up the Allobroges who remained faithful to Rome, the Gabales (Gévaudan) and some Arvernian troops he had commanded to ravage the territory of the Helvii (Vivarais), the Ruteni and Cadurei (Rouergue and Quercy) to invade the country of the Volcae Arecomici (Bas Langnedoc). He himself with 15,000 horse and a large number of infantry proposed to follow Cæsar, refusing all action, to cut off his provisions, capture his forage-parties, burn villages and crops on his approach; in a word to make a waste around him and reduce him by famine. It was the same plan that Vercingetorix had proposed at the commencement of the great war. It was an excellent one, provided it were strictly carried out. Cæsar had taken the road along the frontier of the Lingones in order to cross the Saône and reach Sequania, avoiding the great centre of the insurrection which was now in the Ædnan country. This line of march also led him towards the enemy, and it might perhaps furnish him with the opportunity for a battle. He was not deceived.

When Vercingetorix saw the Romans approaching the Saône he feared that Cæsar, escaping from him, would return with larger forces, and he decided to risk at least a cavalry battle.<sup>1</sup> In that arm all the advantage appeared to be on his side; he had 15,000 picked horsemen each of whom had uttered this solemn imprecation:

“May I never be received under the roof of my home,

“May I never see my aged father, or my wife or children again,

“If I do not twice pass through this army of Cæsar’s on horseback.”

Two divisions of the Roman cavalry were indeed cut to pieces; but Cæsar kept the legions behind them, and so near that the

<sup>1</sup> The place of the battle is uncertain.



Gallic squadrons could not avoid the shock. He was here exposed to the greatest dangers, was almost taken prisoner, and left his sword in the hands of the enemy. Fortunately a charge of the German horse threw some of the Gauls back in disorder upon their infantry. Cæsar saw the tumult; immediately he led forward his cohorts, and threatened the flank of the Gallic army, which fled towards their camp. Thither terror followed them; they compelled their chiefs to strike the ensigns and flee; and they never stopped till they reached the walls of *Alesia*.<sup>1</sup>

Alesia, situated upon the flat top of a steep hill, Mount Auxois,<sup>2</sup> was considered one of the strongest places in Gaul. Upon the sides of the hill Vercingetorix marked out a camp for his still numerous army, which could scarcely, however, have amounted to the 80,000 foot and 10,000 horse which Cæsar allows him.<sup>3</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> Alise-Sainte-Reine, a village in the department of the Côte-d'Or, six and a quarter miles north-east of Semur. But an entire library has been written for and against Alise-Sainte-Reine. Alaise, in Franche-Comté, still has partizans, and men have gone to Bresse, to the neighbourhood of Izernore, and even into Savoy, near Novalaise, in search of the spot where the great drama related in the *Commentaries* was enacted. The excavations made at Alise-Sainte-Reine have led to the discovery of a part of the works described by Cæsar, and the coins found in these excavations, 134 Roman denarii and 500 Gallic pieces, are all anterior to Cæsar's expedition or contemporaneous with the siege; there is not one among them later than the year 51 B.C. The most recent Roman denarius is of the year 54 B.C., and the Gallic coins are just such as an allied army would leave; they belong to the Sequani, the Pictones, Carnutes, Bituriges, Volcæ, Santones, and especially to the Arverni; some, belonging to Marseilles, had been brought into the revolted countries by commerce. Upon them may be read the names of several leaders of the insurrection—Vercingetorix, Tasgetius, Litavicus, Epasnaetus. All the Roman denarii were found in one of the trenches of Cæsar's camp, the one which faced Mount Réa, where the legions lost a great many men; all the Gallic pieces upon Mount Réa, on the left bank of the former bed of the Rabutin and on the same bank of the Ozerain, that is to say, in the places where the army of relief made the most furious attacks.

<sup>2</sup> It rises from 525 to 530 feet above the surrounding ground, and the plateau in which it ends is 650 feet long by 2,600 broad; two streams wash its base. The plain of Laumes on the west has a stretch of nearly 3,000 paces (two miles, 1,334 yards); everywhere else there are high hills at a distance of from 1,200 yards to a mile from Mount Auxois.

<sup>3</sup> There can scarcely be found on Mount Auxois the space necessary for so many men and horses, the baggage, the camp-followers, and the Mandubii who had taken refuge in the *oppidum*, and although Cæsar confirms these figures by saying that he sent away 20,000 Arverni and Ædui free, and that each of his 60,000 soldiers had a Gallic slave, I believe the numbers are greatly exaggerated. The first battle and the rout must have much diminished the Gallic army; but it did not suit Cæsar to say so, and Roman generals never failed to exaggerate the number of their foes. Otherwise it would be astonishing that this numerous army should not have foiled the work of investment. When the best soldiers of Vercingetorix, his horsemen, were gone, he had only a mob left, rather than an army, and when once the plain of Laumes was cut by a trench, sorties became impossible on account of the twenty-three *castella* raised on the hills, whence the machines swept all the passages. According to M. de Rochas (*Balistique de l'Antiquité*) the maximum range of ancient machines was 480 yards.

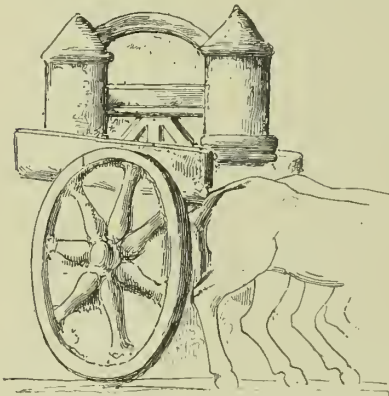
protected it with a trench and a wall six feet in height of uncemented stones; it was the position at Gergovia over again, and he counted upon the same success. When Cæsar had examined the place, and the Gallic camp, he conceived the bold idea of ending the war at one blow by besieging town and army at the same time. He posted his infantry upon the hills which surround Mount Auxois at a short distance away, and he placed his cavalry in the intervals. Then he commenced those immense works which were so much admired by the great Condé. First a trench, twenty feet in depth, and then the same in width, the sides of which were perpendicular, and which intersected the plain of Laumes, between the Ose and the Ozerain, the only way by which Vercingetorix could have escaped. Four hundred feet behind this began the real contravallation which surrounded Mount Auxois with a circuit of ten miles. It was formed of two trenches fifteen feet wide and eight or nine deep; into the first Cæsar had turned the waters of the Ozerain or the Rabutin; the second bordered on an earthwork twelve feet high, surmounted by battlements, palisaded throughout its whole circumference with cloven trunks of trees, and flanked by towers eighty feet apart. In front of the trenches he placed five rows of *chevaux de frise* (*cippi*), eight lines of stakes sunk in the ground, and having their points hidden beneath boughs of trees (*scrobes*); still nearer to the enemy's camp he scattered pit-falls with sharpened stakes in them (*stimuli*), and as he might be besieged as well as besieger, he repeated these works on the country side where the circumvallation had a circuit of thirteen English miles. Five weeks and less than sixty thousand men sufficed for this task.<sup>1</sup>

The Remi persisted in their treason. The Bellovaci, through a senseless pride, refused to lose themselves in the great army. "We will fight when it pleases us," said they, "and on our own account; we intend to obey no man." At the entreaty of the

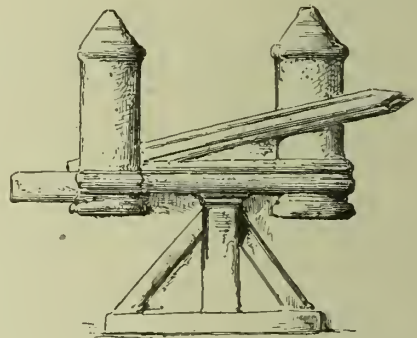
<sup>1</sup> For the details of these works and the results of the excavations made at Alesia, see the *Histoire de Cæsar*, by Napoleon III., vol. ii. p. 271 *sqq.*, with the woodcuts which accompany the text. The works of circumvallation were only constructed where no natural defences existed, and the Romans found many such upon the hills which surrounded Mount Auxois. As for the trench of twenty feet (the Roman foot is 11·649 inches), that depth was no doubt only reached at certain points, and by its perpendicular sides, *directis lateribus*, must be understood that they were made to slope as little as possible. An eye-witness of the excavations assures me indeed, that the very firm soil admitted of an almost vertical cut.

king of the Atrebates however, they sent 2,000 men. We shall see how they came and challenged Cæsar alone when all was lost.

Vercingetorix had not remained inactive. He had tried to hinder the works by attacks, but without success. Not being able to maintain his cavalry, he sent them away before the lines were completed. "I can hold out thirty days," said he to his horsemen, "but let all the cities rise in mass, let not Gaul abandon to the foe him who has devoted himself to her and his 80,000 brethren." These words had their effect, and 248,000 men assembled from all parts of Gaul.<sup>1</sup> But this wholesale levy had furnished not an army, but rather an immense mob, which must conquer quickly or disperse. When they came in sight of Alesia the thirty days had



Machine drawn by Horses.



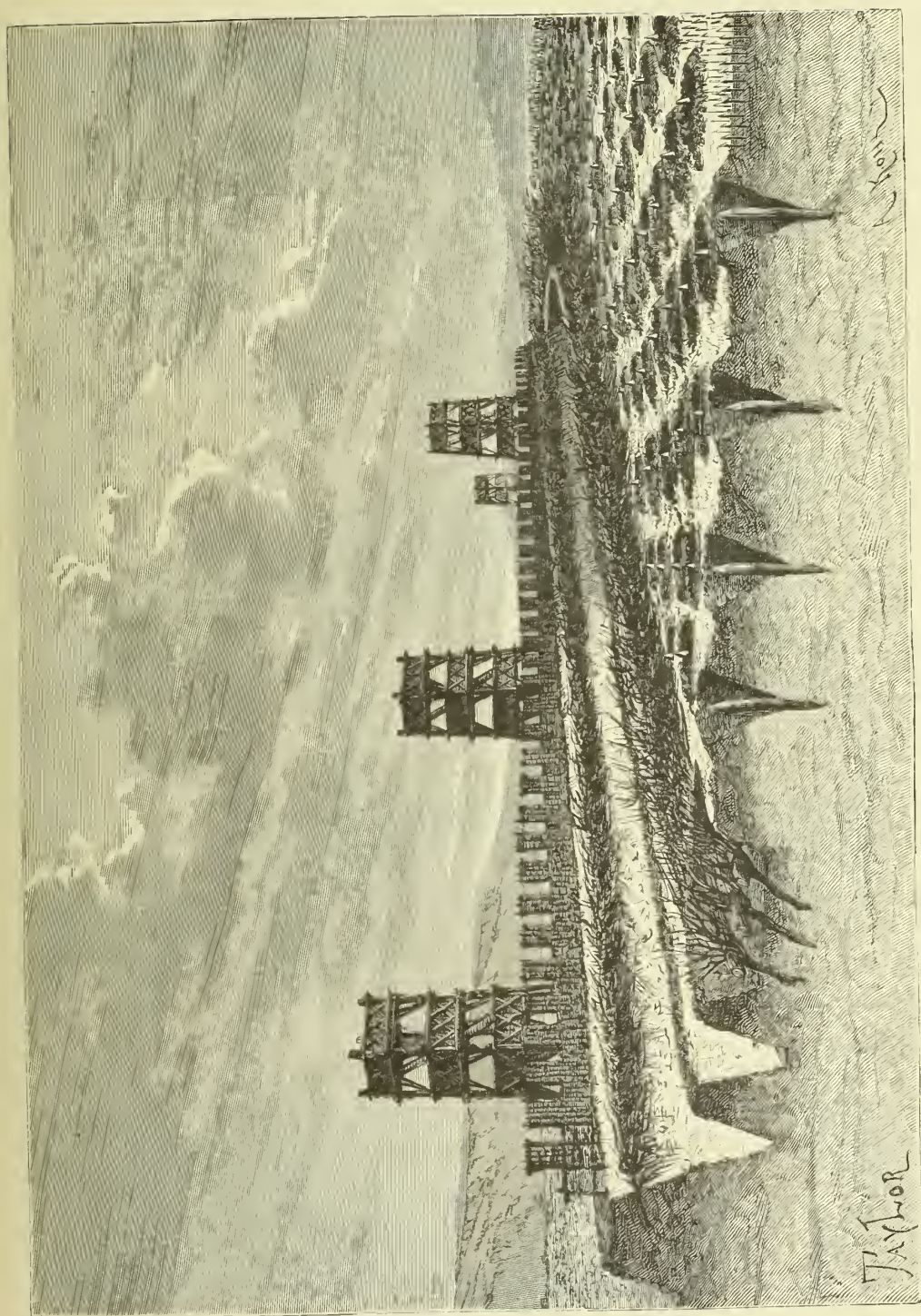
The Same Machine on the Ground.

passed, and want was felt in the place. An Arvernian named Critognatus had proposed that they should feed on the corpses; others had driven from the place all useless mouths; a crowd of women, little children, and old men had been seen wandering from the walls to the entrenchments, imploring pity by turns from the enemy and from their kindred; then, driven back by showers of arrows, die of hunger under their very eyes.

On the morrow after their arrival the Gallic cavalry deployed in the plain. Cæsar sent against them his legionary horse, which at first were defeated; already shouts of victory rang from the town and from the midst of the Gallic army, when the German

<sup>1</sup> Another very large number. On this subject, see the discussion of M. Ern. Desjardins, vol. ii. pp. 703-705.





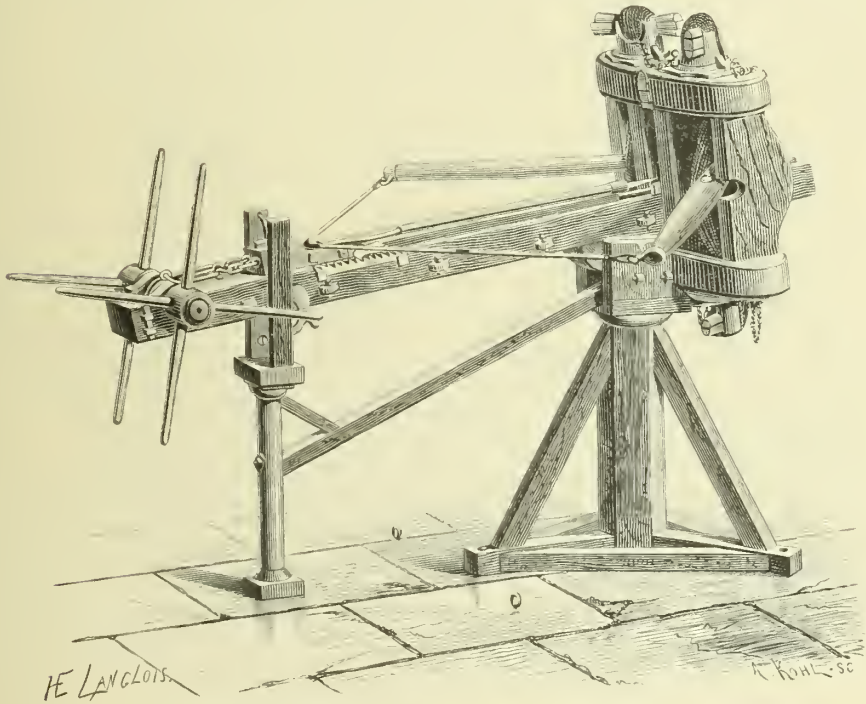
Specimen of Caesar's works round Alésia (reconstructed from his description.)





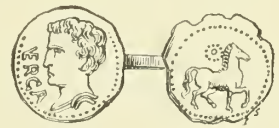
horse, charging in a serried mass, once more put the foe to flight. On the following day the whole army attacked the outer lines and the besieged made a sortie; but the suares scattered over the plain stopped the dash of the assailants, whilst the machines which covered the ramparts poured down upon their close ranks a hail of arrows, stones, and leaden balls. This second attack also failed; a third was decided upon.

A hill which Cæsar had not been able to include in the



Catapult, Restored (Museum of Saint-Germain).

contravallation, Mount Réa, commanded a part of the rampart. The Arvernian Vergasivellaun, a kinsman of Vercingetorix, and Sedullis, chief of the Lemovices, repaired thither secretly with 60,000 warriors of the army of relief. As soon as Vergasivellaun saw the cavalry deploy in the plain, the infantry march to the entrenchments of circumvallation, and Vercingetorix upon the town



Coin of Vergasivellaun, Chief of the Arverni.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Youthful bust; VERGA. On the reverse, a horse. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 56.) The traitor Epasnactus afterwards gave Vergasivellaun up to the Romans.

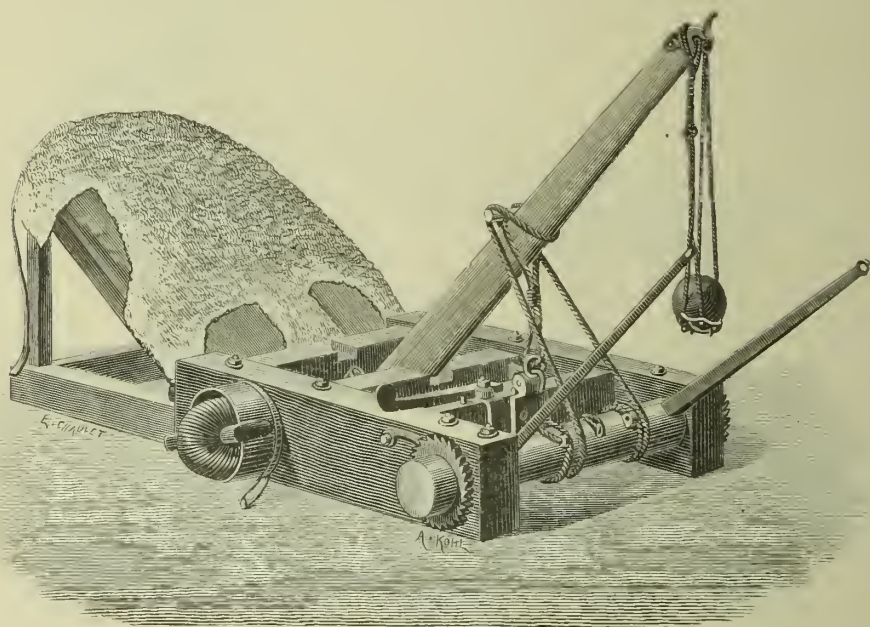
side leave the stronghold with faggots to fill up the inner trench, he attacked with fury. Cæsar, stationed on an eminence whence he could take in his camp and the whole battlefield at a glance,



Coin of Sedullis.<sup>1</sup>

saw the danger. On the side towards the plain the Gauls, restrained by all the obstacles which he had provided, attacked but feebly; the action was fiercest about the hill which Vergasivellaun had occupied. There the

legionaries had already exhausted their javelins. Cæsar ordered Labienus to lead six cohorts thither in all haste. On the town side

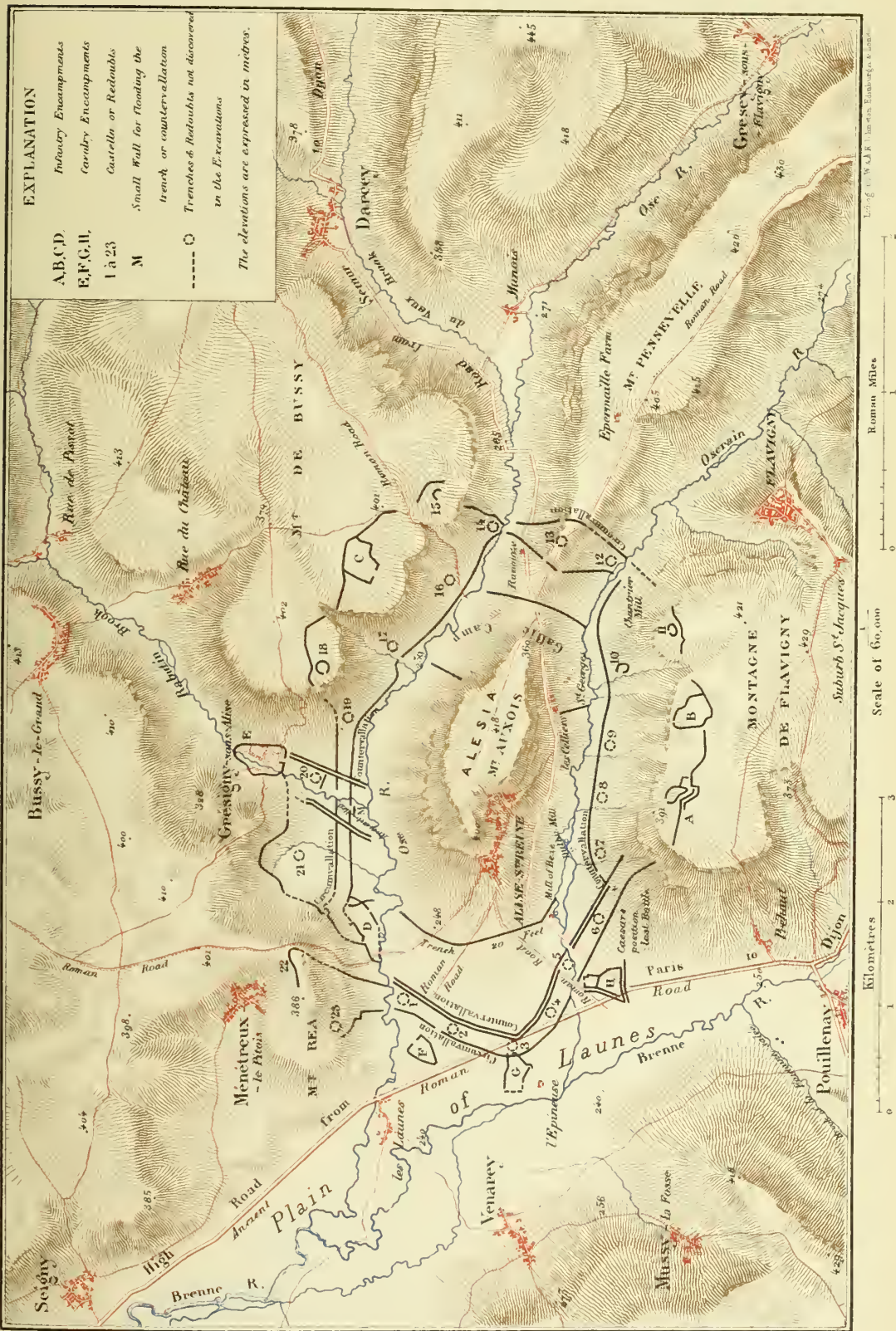


Balista, Restored (Museum of Saint-Germain).

he followed the progress of Vercingetorix; he saw him cross the trenches at one point, reach the rampart, and cut down with scythes the mantlets which sheltered the legionaries from arrows. A few more efforts and the enemy would reach the battlements. He sent thither Brutus with six cohorts; then Fabius with seven more; and as the danger still increased, he repaired thither himself; at last the

<sup>1</sup> Bare head with fillet and collar. On the reverse, a horseman blowing a trumpet and bearing a wild-boar standard, a wild-boar above his head, two behind him, and between the legs of his horse a man knocked down; underneath, the word SEDVLLIS. Coin of the Lemovices. (De Saulcy, *ibid.*, No. 47.)









enemy, overcome by the shafts from the *baliste*, was repulsed. Reassured upon this point, Cæsar hastened to the attack of Vergasivellaun, where Labienus was in peril; his soldiers and the enemy recognized him by the purple mantle which he wore on days of battle, and they redoubled their efforts. Suddenly his cavalry, which he had sent out secretly, dashed down at full gallop and took the barbarians in the rear, whilst the fresh cohorts which he had brought up hurled them from the rampart. The Gauls yielded after a fearful slaughter, and fled, abandoning their camp; but Cæsar knew how to complete his victory; he pursued them, cut their rearguard in pieces, and spread through their ranks a panic which dispersed them far and wide.

This time Gaul was finally conquered. Vercingetorix knew it, but his great spirit was not broken. He re-entered Alesia without displaying any fury or clamorous grief, in order to fulfil his last duty. He had not been able to save Gaul by his genius; he hoped at least to save those who had followed him by offering himself to the Romans as an expiatory victim. He called together the assembly. "I

did not undertake this war," said he, "to raise my fortune, but to save the common liberty. The fortune of war is against us. I have been your leader; satisfy the Romans by my death or give me up alive, it matters not which to me." The throng was so downcast that this sacrifice was accepted. They sent deputies to Cæsar; he demanded that their arms, their chiefs,



Vercingetorix. (Restoration by Millet.)

and Vercingetorix should be given up to him; he took his seat on his tribunal in front of the lines. The gates of the town opened; a horseman issued from them all alone; it was Vercingetorix. Mounted on his war-horse, and wearing his richest armour, he galloped up in front of Cæsar, made a circle round the tribunal, then sprang from his horse, and without an entreaty, without a word, but with a firm and proud look, he cast his helmet and sword at the feet of the stern and unmoved Roman. The lictors led him away: Cæsar made him wait six years for the insulting solemnity of the triumph and for death.<sup>1</sup>

On the news of this great success, the Roman senate decreed that thanks should be rendered to the gods of Rome by twenty days of solemn festivals. Cæsar dared not however, winter south of the Alps; he took up his quarters at Bibracte, in the midst of his legions. He had given up to his soldiers the captives taken at Alesia, so that every legionary had a Gallic slave to sell or keep.<sup>2</sup> For himself he reserved 20,000 Ædui and Arverni, whom he set at liberty in order to win over those two nations. They did in fact, give in their submission.

#### VIII.—EIGHTH CAMPAIGN: SUBJECTION OF THE BELLOVACI AND CADURCI (51 B.C.).

The war was not yet ended however. The Gauls of the north and west, with the exception of the Nervii, Veneti, and Eburones had not yet experienced any bloody defeats. In the preceding campaign their contingents had been small, and the losses had fallen principally upon the Arverni and Ædui. Their strength therefore, as well as their courage, was still unbroken, and experience had taught them what kind of warfare they must wage against the legions—surprises, partial attacks, but no more of those battles in which Roman tactics destroyed vast armies in

<sup>1</sup> All the Gallic chiefs came and gave themselves up with Vercingetorix. According to Dion (xl. 41), Vercingetorix might have fled, but confident of Cæsar's friendship, he yielded himself to the proconsul, who, reproaching him with having betrayed that friendship, loaded him with chains.

<sup>2</sup> The sale of slaves was very profitable. After the capture of Pindenissum, a small town in Cilicia, Cicero sold them to the amount of 12,000,000 sesterces in the space of three days, and the sale was not then ended. (*ad Att.*, v. 20.)

a day. The activity of Cæsar disconcerted this fresh plan.<sup>1</sup> In the middle of the winter he fell upon the Bituriges before they had completed their preparations, and carrying fire and sword throughout the country, forced the population to seek refuge from extermination



Roman Soldier.<sup>2</sup>

among the neighbouring nations. After this cruel lesson he allowed them to return to their devastated homes; and in order to reward the two legions which had just made this expedition in intensely cold weather, he gave every soldier 200 sesterces, and every centurion 2,000.

<sup>1</sup> For the winter he had divided his eleven legions in the following manner; two among the Sequani, the same number among the Remi, one among each of the following tribes, the Boii, Bituriges, and Ruteni, one again at Mâcon and Chalon, and he kept two with him at Bibracte. Each legion was commanded by a legate.

<sup>2</sup> Combatant without either helmet or cuirass, who appears to be opposing his enemy's spear, or rather, is preparing to hurl the stones which he carries in his cloak. Statue in the Gallery of *Uffizi* at Florence.



The centre of Gaul seemed to be definitely pacified, as the Romans said. But at this moment the north broke out, and first of all the Carnutes. This nation, which had given the signal for the great insurrection, was bound to fight to the very last. Cæsar was re-entering Bibracte when he heard of the movement among the Carnutes; he set out again at once, took up his position with two legions among the ruins of Cenabum, and thence sent out his cavalry and auxiliaries to scour the country. It was a war of



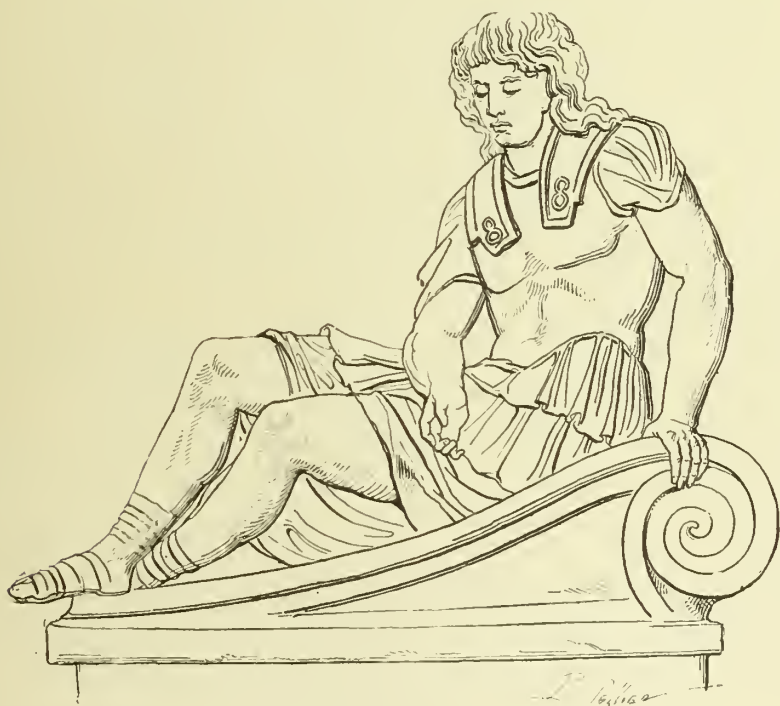
Gaulish Soldier(?).<sup>1</sup>

devastation and pillage, and the soldiers threw themselves into it with an eager desire for gain and a love of murder; a considerable portion of the Carnutian population perished of cold and want in the depths of the woods.

This execution was not yet ended when a general rising of the nations of the north-east obliged him to hasten with four legions to the help of the Remi, who were seriously menaced.

<sup>1</sup> This statue, and the one on p. 205, seated on scrolls, must have been ornaments to some villa, and probably represent Gauls. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 854A, Nos. 2155A and 2155B.)

Ambiorix, at length hearing the rumour of war in Belgica, had issued from the forests of Germany where he lay hidden, and this time the Bellovaci had risen in mass, supported by the nations of the valleys of the Somme and the Scheldt, and by those of the lower Seine. The proconsul marched towards their country; he found it a desert; and when he met them upon Mount Saint-Marc(?), in the forest of Compiègne, their position, protected by marshes, was so strong that he dared not attack them. He was himself obliged to think of providing against all surprise by



Gallic Soldier(?).

constructing in the enemy's neighbourhood a veritable fortress for his four legions—a camp with a rampart twelve feet high, and surmounted by towers of three stories, connected by covered bridges, in which the soldiers could fight under cover; two trenches, each fifteen feet wide, were made in front of it. Several days passed in skirmishes between the foragers. Cæsar dared not attempt a direct attack, which would oblige him to cross a marshy ground and then climb heights bristling with defences. He resolved to resort to his great resource—investment. Three more

legions were called up, and the works began. At the sight of the lines so rapidly pushed on by vigorous workers, the Bellovaci remembered Alesia with terror, and one night they sent out of the camp the women, children, and old men, and the numerous chariots which conveyed their baggage. Daylight having overtaken them in that operation, Cæsar took advantage of the disorder to approach nearer, in order to find an opportunity of striking some decisive blow. He threw wicker-work bridges over the marshes, and reached a hill adjoining that occupied by the Gauls. The latter lighted great fires along the front of their camp, and behind this curtain of smoke and flames, which the Romans dared not cross for fear of falling into some ambuscade, they escaped. Being overtaken in the neighbourhood of the Aisne, they lost the best of their infantry, all their horse, and their chief, Correus, who refused to yield.<sup>1</sup> This reverse discouraged them; they implored mercy of the victor; all the cities of the north-east likewise gave hostages. Cæsar scoured Belgica, drove Ambiorix, who had entered the territory of his tribe with a few hundred fugitives, back across the Rhine once more, and then returned towards the Loire, for to the south of that river too, all the cities had revolted.

Duratius, a friend of the Romans, had put down the insurrection among the Pietones by seizing their capital. The war in the west was concentrated round that place, which the Gauls besieged and the Romans advanced to relieve. The lieutenant Caninius had hastened thither from the frontiers of the Province with two legions; Cæsar sent him twenty-five cohorts more under the command of Fabius. The allies, fearing lest they should be shut in between the stronghold and two Roman armies, tried to regain the Loire. Just as they were crossing it, the cavalry of



Coin of Duratius.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These encounters are placed by M. de Sauley (*Campagnes de Jules César en Gaule*, p. 394 *sqq.*) and Napoleon III. in the forest of Compiègne, on the north of that town. Cæsar's first camp must have been at Mount Saint-Pierre in Châtres, the second at Mount Collet; the Gauls upon Mount Saint-Marc. M. Peigné-Delacourt, who discovered a Roman wooden bridge beneath half a yard of peat in the marsh of Breuil-le-Sec, below Clermont (Oise), places the Roman camp on the hill which commands that town.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Diana; DVRAT. On the reverse, free horse galloping; above, an aedicle or monogram; in the exergue. IVLIOS. (Cf., p. 189, the explanation of this name on the coin of Votomapatius; De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 46.)

Fabius appeared and threw them back to the left bank; there the cohorts reached them, and this army too, was destroyed. The Andes, the remnant of the Carnutes, and the Armorican cities gave hostages.

There were brave men who did honour to these last days of Gaul. Let us piously recall their names, for history should do like that *old Mortality*, who went through woods and over mountains seeking the spots where martyrs had fallen, cleared away the moss and brambles from the stone of their sepulchres, and brought back to life their forgotten names. Correus, chief of the Bellovaci, who fell in an ambuscade, fought hard. The river and the forests were near, he might have fled; he would not, but struck down every legionary who dared approach him, and only succumbed when the enemy had overwhelmed him from a distance with a shower of arrows.



Coin of Correus, Chief of the Bellovaci.<sup>1</sup>



Coin of Guturvath, or Cotuatus, Chief of the Carnutes.<sup>2</sup>

Guturvath was the chief of the Carnutes, and, like Correus and Vercingetorix, was the instigator of the desperate war which his tribe waged against the Romans. Cæsar required that he should be given up, and ordered his lictors to beat with rods and then behead the man who had defended his country against him.

Drapeth, a Senonian chieftain, had armed his very slaves for the war of liberty; even after the last disasters he continued to attack the Romans; being taken prisoner by them he starved himself to death.

Dumnac, chief of the Andes, plunged into the woods when there was no longer any hope, and left no trace behind him; like Ambiorix he died unknown, but free.

Comm, king of the Atrebatæ, had expiated by brilliant services to the Gallic cause his error in having at first been Cæsar's friend. Labienus, dreading his influence, had enticed him

<sup>1</sup> Correus, named Cricirus upon coins. Head with helmet and winged horse. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 73.)

<sup>2</sup> Cotuatus or Gutruatus, war-chief of the Carnutes in the seventh and eighth campaigns. Head of Venus and a monogram. On the reverse, a winged lion. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 22.)



to an interview. It was agreed that at the moment when the Roman officer Volusenus took the Gaul's hand, the centurions who



Coin of Comm, Chief of the Atrebatas and Morini.<sup>1</sup>

accompanied him should fall upon Comm and stab him with their swords. But his friends averted the blow, and Comm, though grievously wounded, escaped. When his people were treating for peace, and wished, in order to save him, to include him among the hostages, he refused; "I have sworn," said he, "never to meet a Roman face to face again," and he disappeared into the depths of the woods. Some fugitives joined him there. He continued the war with them, infesting the neighbourhood of the camps and cutting off convoys on their way to the quarters of the legions. One day he met the prefect Volusenus at the head of a detachment of cavalry. The sight of his enemy aroused his anger. The Gauls were fewer in number, but Comm entreated them to help him in his vengeance. By feigning flight he drew Volusenus far ahead of his men, then wheeled round, fell furiously upon him and wounded him with a javelin. The Romans hastened up; he could not despatch him, but his vengeance was satisfied; he sent deputies to Antony, and offered to lay down his arms on condition of being allowed to live where he would be sure of never meeting a Roman.

The last resistance was offered by an obscure town. The invasion of Caninius in the west had obliged Lucterius, the former lieutenant of Vereingetorix, to give up the idea of a fresh invasion of Gallia Narbonensis, and he had thrown some troops into the little stronghold of *Uxellodunum*<sup>2</sup> (probably Puy d'Issolu), in the territory of the Cadurei (Quercy).

Caninius immediately laid siege to it. The fortress, built amid steep rocks, was so strong that Cæsar had time to arrive from Belgica, and it was only by cutting off the supply of water from the besieged that they were forced to surrender. The

<sup>1</sup> Head with helmet. On the reverse, a horse running free. Coin of Comm, chief of the Atrebatas and Morini. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 34.)

<sup>2</sup> At *Uxellodunum* Cæsar was on the frontier of Aquitania, where he had not yet made his appearance; he went and passed the summer there with two legions, visited Gallia Narbonensis, again traversed the whole of Gaul, and stopped at *Nemetocena*, among the Atrebatas, in the heart of Belgica. Before the end of the winter, 51-50 B.C., he returned into Gallia Cisalpina.

proconsul, whom such a prolonged war might have ruined, was desirous of making a terrible example of these last defenders of Gallic liberty. All whom he found in Uxellodunum had their hands cut off; scattered throughout Gaul, they proclaimed the fate reserved by the Romans for those whom they would no longer look upon as aught but rebels. A traitor gave up Lucterius (51 B.C.).<sup>1</sup>

This atrocity was the last act of the Gallic war. No struggle left greater memories in the ancient world. "During these eight years," says Plutarch, "Cæsar stormed more than 800 towns, subdued 300 nations, and conquered 3,000,000 of men, of whom a third perished on the battlefield, and another third were sold." It matters little if the figures are exaggerated; they show how the minds of the ancients were impressed by these gigantic combats. Gaul had an end worthy of the renown that so many victories and conquests had given it. We, her sons, may be permitted to honour a heroic resistance.

But after this homage paid to the courage of our forefathers, let us acknowledge that, in view of the general interests of the world, Cæsar had brought to a glorious close the list of conquests of the Roman republic. A great war was ended and a great work commenced. The Roman frontier carried from the Alps to the Rhine; German barbarism driven back and restrained; Græco-Latin civilization spread along the banks of the Saône, the Loire, and the Seine, and thus gaining a sufficiently wide base to prevent its ever in days of misfortune being stifled by invaders,—such was the service which Cæsar had rendered not only to Rome, but to humanity. In this work he had employed eight years, eleven legions, the inexhaustible resources of Roman discipline, and his own genius and incomparable activity. Till then Gaul had been like the untamed horse we see stamped on Nervian coins, free and fiery in its movements; he had curbed it. But as soon as it had accepted its new condition, he set himself to obliterate the memory of its defeat and to close the sores of that terrible war. During a whole year he visited the principal cities to win over men's minds and calm their hearts.

<sup>1</sup> Napoléon III., *Histoire de César*, pl. 30.  
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There were no confiscations giving the land over to his soldiers, for he had not bought them with ten years of victories and booty to make them, on the eve of Pharsalia, peaceful husbandmen in the Gallie plains. No heavy tribute was imposed, only what the new province had consented to pay during the war (40,000,000 sesterces, or £320,000). And even then there were numerous exemptions in favour of allies and towns who had managed to win that privilege, especially of the Gallie nobles who were to form a devoted faction in each city and remain clients of Cæsar. To these favours he added what Rome's subjects hardly knew, respect for the conquered, for their glory, for trophies, even those raised at his own expense. He had lost his sword in battle; one day his soldiers found it hung up in a Gallie temple and wanted to tear it down. "Let them keep it," said he, "it is sacred." He left them much more than this—their priests, their religion, their laws, and after the victory, he seemed to remain among them only to impose public peace upon them and to associate them with Roman greatness.

The fact was he had an interest in now attaching this valiant race. The conquest of Gaul had provided him with an army well-inured to war, and at the same time devoted to himself, with vast wealth and immense influence in the Republic. He could no longer re-enter Rome as a simple citizen.

<sup>1</sup> Bust of a man with an unexplained inscription. On the reverse, a horseman holding a lance in rest. (*de Bell. Gall.*, viii. 44; De Sauley, *Campagnes de Jules César en Gaule*, No. 51.)



Coin of Epasnacius, Chief of the Arverni.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER LV.

### HOME POLICY DURING THE PROCONSULSHIP OF CÆSAR (58-49 B.C.).

#### I.—CLODIUS, CICERO, AND MILO.

IT was nine years since Rome had seen starting on the Flaminian Way the elegant scapegrace who mingled pleasure with the gravest business,<sup>1</sup> and who appeared to be as anxious about the folds of his toga as the success of an election. None had thought that with a constitution so impaired by excesses and labours he could withstand the fatigues of a long war. But they heard that he had beaten 400,000 Helvetii and 120,000 Suevi, then the Belgæ and Armoricans; again, that he had crossed the Rhine and carried the Roman eagles as far as Britain in the remotest west. And the letters of the officers and soldiers described those terrible struggles in the midst of wild countries, their rapid marches, their immense works, and above all the untiring activity of the man of pale complexion, delicate limbs and uncertain health, who thought he had done nothing so long as aught remained to be done; who swam great rivers and crossed mountains in winter-time; who in rain, in snow, in deep forests or swampy plains, never spared himself more than the lowest of the legionaries, unless when borne in his litter he dictated four letters at a time to his secretaries.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This brings to mind Servilia's note, received in the midst of a discussion among Catiline's accomplices. Caesar wrote a good deal. "He was the first to introduce at Rome the custom of communicating with his friends by letter when business or the extent of the city did not allow him time to meet them. (Plut., *Cæsar*, 18.) All his letters are lost save those which have been preserved among Cicero's correspondence. His *Libri auspiorum*, *de Astris*, *de Analogia*, his *Apophthegmata*, and the *Anti-Cato* are also lost; there only remain his *Commentaries*.

<sup>2</sup> Respecting these details, see Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 45, 51, 57; Dion., xliii. 43; Plut., *Julius Cæsar*, 18; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 25; and Cic., *ad Att.*, viii. 9; *hoc τῆρας horribili vigilantia, celeritate, diligentia est*. He sometimes went a hundred miles a day, and often outstripped his couriers. (Suet., *ibid.*, 54.) Like Alexander, he rode a horse which he alone had been able to break in. (Plut., *ibid.*, 18; Suet., *ibid.*, 57.) On ordinary marches he went on foot amid his



He was no longer the man whom the Roman idlers called the minion of Nicomedes and the accomplice of Catiline, but the great general who, without having for a moment distracted Rome's attention from her pleasures, had brought to her feet that Gallic race whose turbulent courage had so long troubled the ancient world. Thirty battles in which 3,000,000 men had been engaged were well worth Pompey's equivocal victories and the laurels he had gleaned in the track of so many less fortunate rivals.

Whilst to the means of influence which he already possessed, Caesar was adding the most powerful of all, the prestige of glory, what had become of the Republic? In order to understand these deplorable times properly and to judge the actors justly, we must glance into 'the sink of boundless ambitions, paltry vices, and aimless crimes, in which the people was represented by gladiators and a few drunken mendicants, the senate by trembling old men,' the laws by bargains, liberty by riots—a hateful time which spoils even Cicero and Cato for us, and in which the leaders of the senate, as well as those of the people, degraded and abased themselves as if to bring into greater prominence the inevitable master whose image, notwithstanding its distance, was ever present and seemed daily to grow upon the horizon.

We left Clodius master of the Forum with the approbation of the triumvirs. But he was too ambitious to be long contented to serve as the instrument of other men's ambition. By putting up to auction his favour and the influence which his office gave him, by selling impunity to Menula of Anagnia, to Brogitarus the rich priesthood of Cybele of Pessinus, to a hundred others everything they could buy, he collected sufficient money to satisfy the ruffians with whom he had surrounded himself. At the head of an armed band he pulled down Cicero's house on the Palatine, and in order that it might not be rebuilt on the same site he consecrated it to the Goddess of Liberty. A statue of a courtesan which his brother Appius had brought from Tanagra was placed in the shrine and represented the goddess: it was the true representation of the

soldiers, with his head bare in spite of the sun and rain. (Suet., *ibid.*, 54.) He shared their food; one day he caused a slave to be beaten for serving him with a better loaf. (Suet., *ibid.* 47.) It was thus that, as Montesquieu says, he conquered his soldiers.

<sup>1</sup> *Desipientem senatum.*

liberty which he loved and which is called License. The consuls Gabinius and Piso whom he had won over by securing them the two rich governments of Macedonia and Syria, aided him in pillaging the orator's villas, whence they carried off the most precious furniture and the curiosities of all kinds which Cicero had collected. Thanks to the dejection of the senate, the indifference of the people, and the listlessness of Pompey, Rome saw a man established in power whose only policy was audacity. Vatinius, Cæsar's principal agent during his patron's consulship, was cited before the prætor: Clodius overthrew the tribunal and drove away the judges. Pompey had given into the charge of one of his friends the young Tigranes his prisoner; the prince bribed the tribune who let him escape, and to cover his flight attacked and slew his pursuers. This was a direct offence against the triumvir, and others followed: for such was the self-confidence of this man, sprung from the proudest of the patrician races, that the conqueror of Asia seemed to him a meddlesome rival who must be crushed. Pompey's friends were threatened with accensations; he himself was the butt of raillery which he could not answer and which ruined his popularity, so that at length he came to desire the return of the exile (Cicero). Some tribunes proposed it; it was supported by the whole senate, even by Gabinius, on whom his patron Pompey imposed this recantation. But Clodius sent out his retainers; the consul was wounded, the assembly dissolved, and the matter adjourned. Dazzled by this success, he thought he could attack the other trimvir with impunity, and he asked the senate to rescind the *Julian Laws* as having been made contrary to the auspices.<sup>1</sup>

It was too much, however, to struggle with Cæsar and Pompey at the same time. The latter wrote to his ally among the Gauls to know what he thought of the recall of Cicero,<sup>2</sup> and Sextius, a tribune-elect was the bearer of the letter:<sup>3</sup> a double proof of the accord which still existed between these two powerful men, and of the high authority Cæsar still retained at Rome, where

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *pro Domo*, 15.

<sup>2</sup> "He is only waiting," says Cicero (*ad Att.*, iii. 18), "for a letter from Cæsar to get the proposition brought forward by one of his partisans."

<sup>3</sup> *Pro Sextio*, 33.

Pompey, the senate, and the college of tribunes, dared do nothing of importance without making sure of his feelings in the matter. Caesar ceased opposing the return of the orator, who would probably after this bitter experience give up the idea that he was an indispensable man; and the triumvirs allowed none but opponents of Clodius to attain office for the following year.

On the first of January B.C. 57, the new consuls<sup>1</sup> having demanded the recall of Cicero, the senate passed a decree most honourable to the exile; but when the projected law was brought before the public assembly, Clodius and his retainers prevented the voting. Cicero advised that he should be fought with his own weapons. There was then upon the tribunes' bench, Milo, an individual devoid of talent, but also of scruples, a desperate man, overwhelmed with debt, who could escape his creditors only by obtaining a province to plunder. For that he must belong to a party; he gave himself up to Pompey, and Cicero's friends furnished him with the means of enrolling a band of gladiators like Clodius.

Such was the powerlessness of the laws and the magistrates that nothing was now done but under the protection of one of other of these two bands of brigands. Oftentimes they came to blows. In one of these encounters Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was seriously wounded, and only escaped by hiding beneath some of the slain; a tribune was nearly killed. In order to cast the odium of this attempt upon their foes, the friends of Clodius wished to kill another tribune, one of their own party, and then accuse Milo of the murder. So great was the number of deaths "that the bodies blocked up the Tiber and filled the sewers, and the Forum was flooded with blood."<sup>2</sup> The senators summoned many Italians to Rome; they forbade observations of the heavens which each party produced according to its own requirements, and while Milo kept Clodius in check with his gladiators, the law of recall was passed. After an absence of seventeen months Cicero

<sup>1</sup> They were Lentulus Spinther, one of the judges who had condemned Clodius in his first trial, and Metellus Nepos, Cicero's old enemy, who was a relative of Clodius, but who had been compelled by his relations with Pompey to follow the policy of the latter. Appius, a brother of Clodius, who was afterwards Cicero's predecessor in the government of Cilicia, had succeeded in getting himself chosen prætor.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *pro Sextio*, 35; *Ad Att.*, iii. 10; *Ibid.*, iv. 2, 5. [probably a gross exaggeration.—*Ed.*]

entered Rome again, borne aloft, said he, by the arms of all Italy (August 16, 57 B.C.). For a whole year the senate and Pompey had had no thought but this return of Cicero, while Cæsar had employed the time in bringing three wars to a victorious close.

What were the character and policy of this man, for whom the senate had suspended all business for six months? The confidence which he formerly felt in himself and in the institutions of his country had been weakened by the triumvirate; his exile completely destroyed it. In misfortune all his philosophy had broken down, and he had fallen into a state of deep dejection. "Can I forget," he repeated to his friends, "what I was and what I have lost?" Rutilius had given a different example. From that time his conduct ceased to correspond with the greatness of the part he had played six years previously, and which he resumed for a few days only on the morrow after Cæsar's death. After all, what could he do, he, a *novus homo*, without any family connections with the aristocracy, and whom the nobles taunted with his origin? His scheme of universal conciliation had failed, like that of Drusus. Men of wealth who had crowded round him at a time when all fortunes seemed to be threatened, now went where their interest called them, to those who controlled public works and the tributes of provinces at their pleasure. The orders, the comitia, the senate! Idle words, empty forms, faint memories of a Republic which no longer existed. Might was right,<sup>1</sup> and the might lay with him who had most daring. Cicero, who was admirably qualified for the peaceful contests of quiet times, had not sufficient boldness to make a direct attack on the powerful men of the day. Against Catiline he had been energetic and resolute because a great party supported him and the cause was won beforehand. Now the standard he had then raised gathered no one round it, and he perceived that in a Republic which is drawing near its end eloquence may give fresh power for a time, but arms alone will secure it. He found that the nobles did not entertain a sufficiently vigorous hatred for his enemy Clodius, and that they grudged the indemnity for his wrecked and plundered houses. "I see clearly," he sadly wrote,<sup>2</sup> "that I have

<sup>1</sup> *Mensuraque juris vis erat.* (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 175.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Att.*, iv. 5.



been a regular fool.”<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, care for his own interests replaced political preoccupation, and he whom the senate and the people had proclaimed Father of his Country became Pompey’s lieutenant and Cæsar’s agent.

A short time after his return a temporary scarcity led to a riot; shouts of death to the senate were uttered, and the rioters



Ruins of Cicero's House at Arpinum.

threatened to burn the senators in the Curia. Cicero hastened to discharge his debt of gratitude to Pompey by supporting a motion conferring upon him the superintendence of provisions for five years, with the inspection of all ports and markets throughout the

<sup>1</sup> *Scio me asinum germanum fuisse.* Cicero at first possessed no fortune. In spite of the *lex Cincia*, the clients whom he protected made him rich presents; one of them, P. Sylla, lent him 2,000,000 sesterces (£16,000); citizens put him down according to the Roman custom in their wills, and these legacies amounted to 20,000,000 sesterces (Philipp., ii. 16); his government of Cilicia brought him in 2,200,000 (£17,600). His wife Terentia had had a dowry of 120,000 drachmæ (£4,440), and she possessed a forest near Tusculum, etc. We know he had four houses at Rome, and at least eight important villas. For the rebuilding of his house at Rome the senate allowed him 2,000,000 sesterces; for the damage done to his villa at Tusculum

empire.<sup>1</sup> Pompey liked these extraordinary functions, which placed him beyond the common law, but he would have wished to join to his mission a military command, an army, a fleet, the right of drawing at will upon the treasury, and finally, authority over all governors of provinces; in his mind he even added to these the conquest of Egypt in order to make that country the granary of Rome. The senate, who retained all their spite against him, and were secretly encouraged by Crassus and Cæsar's friends, refused the royalty demanded of them, and only granted the care of the provisions. It was still a very great office, for it made him "absolute master of the navigation and agriculture of the whole world."<sup>2</sup> He solemnly appointed fifteen lieutenants as if for a difficult business, and Cicero consented to be the first on the list. The orator would have accepted even less, for in the effusion of his gratitude he forgot the position which his talents had won for him. His chief anxiety for the moment was to obtain pontiffs who would annul the consecration which Claudius had made of the ground on which his dwelling had stood. Acting on the favourable decision of the college, the senators ordered the rebuilding of his house at Rome and of his villa at Tusculum. Clodius dispersed the workmen and nearly killed Cicero. On another occasion he attempted to set fire to the houses of Quintus and Milo. Being accused by the latter of these violences, he continued them, even while he was canvassing the ædileship, and Milo prevented his obtaining it only by declaring that he was observing the heavens. The election was thus delayed.

Milo's tribuneship came to an end; Clodius got himself elected ædile, which put a stop to all prosecution directed against him, and in his turn he accused Milo; Pompey defended him; but Clodius stirred up a riot in the crowd round the tribunal, and poured the most cutting ridicule upon the awkward advocate.

500,000; for the one at Formiæ 250,000 (*ad Att.*, iv. 2), and this he considered far too little, *valde illiberaliter*. He must have put his money to some use, too. Brutus did so, and we know at what a usurious rate—48 per cent. Victor Leclerc, the enthusiastic editor of Cicero, assigns him eighteen villas, and thinks that, counting the houses of call, the number may be raised to twenty-three. But it must be said that, like great artists, Cicero was a very bad manager.

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *ad Att.*, iv. 1; Livy, *Epit.*, civ.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., *Pompeius*, 49.

This scene must be read in Cicero's letters to gain a clear idea of the state at which the Republic and liberty had arrived. "Pompey spoke, or rather, tried to do so, for as soon as he rose the band of Clodius began its clamouring, and throughout the speech there was nothing but vociferations and insults. When he had finished, Clodius in his turn desired to speak, but our men did the same to him, and with such a noise that he lost ideas and voice. For two hours insults and obscene verses were showered upon him; on his side he cried out to his partisans amid the tumult; 'Who wants to starve the people?' and the band replied; 'Pompey!' — 'Who wants to get sent to Alexandria?' 'Pompey!' At length they came to blows. Picture to yourself our grave friend, with his solemn vanity and his triumphal airs, receiving these biting epigrams full in his face amid such tumults; he suffered cruelly."

Another matter increased his mortification. Ptolemy Auletes, being expelled by the Alexandrians, had come to Rome, counting for the recovery of his crown on the support of Cæsar, whom he had already paid, and on that of Pompey, who lodged him in his house. Feeling himself daily sinking in public opinion, Pompey was anxious, in order to get out of this unpleasant position by some brilliant expedition, to obtain the mission of re-establishing the prince. The Egyptians, crushed by the taxes imposed by Auletes, sent a hundred ambassadors to Rome to plead their cause. Some of them were slain on the way, others were bribed. One of them who would have revealed everything was assassinated. Pompey, nevertheless, continued his protection of his worthless guest, but did not succeed in getting himself appointed to reinstate him in his kingdom. A *senatus-consultum* conferred that mission upon the governor of Cilicia; and in order that Pompey might find no pretext for reversing the decision, threatening prodigies appeared, and the Sibylline books were made to speak: they forbade the employment of soldiers for restoring Egypt to the king. We shall see later on how this disgraceful affair terminated.

Clodius tried to make these presages serve two purposes by directing them against Cicero too. The gods were offended, said he, at the profanation of a plot of ground which he had consecrated to a goddess. The orator replied. But both sides



grew weary of this hypocritical contest carried on at the expense of heaven; they returned to blows and violence, and Cicero, supported by Milo, broke the brazen tablets in the Capitol, upon which were engraved the acts of the tribuneship of Clodius. The ex-consul himself became the leader of a band in the city, and he incurred the severe reproaches of Cato, who was just returning from Cyprus; in one of these frays the great orator Hortensius was nearly slain.<sup>1</sup>

This mission to Cyprus, honourable as it was to Cato, who had accepted it against his own inclination, and displayed his integrity in it, was not so honourable to Rome. Under the pretext that the king of Cyprus, a brother of Auletes, had connived at the proceedings of the pirates, he was ordered, although he had received the title of Friend of the Roman People, to abdicate his

Hortensius.<sup>2</sup>

throne. Cato offered him as compensation the rich priesthood of the Venus of Paphos. He preferred to poison himself, and his kingdom was annexed to the province of Cilicia as domain of the Republic. Cato brought back 7,000 talents (nearly £1,720,000), rich furniture, and all the royal properties: we know that when

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *pro Milone*, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Visconti, *Iconographie romaine*, and Clarac, *Iconographie*, pl. 1049, No. 3213. This bust was found at the villa Hadriana at the same time as that of the philosopher Isocrates.



Rome plundered palaces and temples she left nothing behind. It is unfortunate that the name of Cato should be connected with an expedition which looked as if it had been made by highwaymen.

But he was too much of a Roman not to be anxious, when the annoyance of having to commit an injustice was over, for the ratification of his mission, which had added a province to the empire and a treasure to the *ærarium*. Now Cicero was desirous of annulling all the acts of the tribuneship of Clodius as having been accomplished in opposition to the auspices, and the sending of Cato to Cyprus was one of these acts. Hence arose a coolness between Cicero and Cato. Each regarding only his personal interests, and acting according to his personal likes and dislikes, it seemed as though there was no longer any political party left. The true master of Rome in the year 56 was the ædile Clodius, and who could say what Clodius wished? Pompey threatened by him and attacked by Cato, knew not what to do or say. He was afraid of being assassinated; he dared not venture out into the streets of Rome, and only went to the senate when the assembly was held near his abode. "They have a design against my life," said he to Cicero. "Crassus supports Cato, who gets up suits against my friends. They furnish Clodius with money, they stir up Bibulus, Curio, and many others against me. It is time I provided for my safety, unless I want to perish, abandoned as I am by this people that has ears for none but babblers, by a hostile nobility, by an unjust senate, and a depraved youth. I am therefore, going to summon the country-people." And Cicero adds; "Clodius is preparing his band, but hitherto we have the advantage in numbers, and we are expecting recruits from Picenum and Gallia Cisalpina. When the bills against Milo and Lentulus come on we shall be in force."<sup>1</sup>

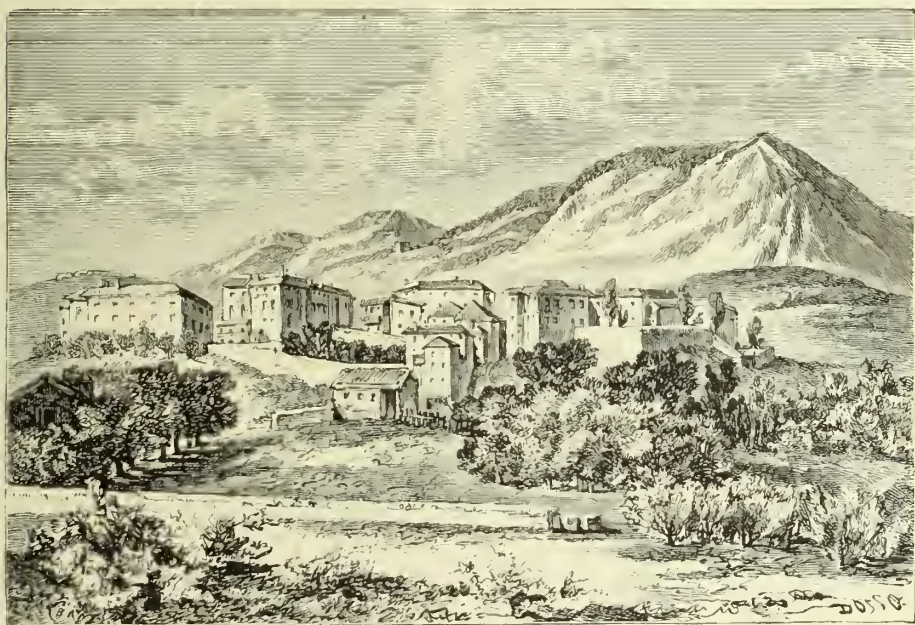
Thus real battles replaced legislative discussions, and the orator who had so often been successful on the platform promised himself wonders, not from his eloquence, but from the vigour of his recruits; so that we can clearly see what violence effected, but no longer where liberty existed. How beautiful are Cicero's words;

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Quint.*, ii. 3.

*Legum omnes servi sumus, ut liberi esse possimus.* But everyone wished to be the law's master and none was its slave.

Another thing stands out clearly from the body of facts just given—the growing unpopularity of Pompey among the senate and people, and consequently the necessity he experienced of entering into closer relations with the all-powerful conqueror of the Gauls, even at the cost of submitting to any conditions in exchange for his co-operation.

This is the secret of the conference at Lucca, and it explains



Lucca.<sup>1</sup>

the events of the year 55 B.C., in which the fate of Rome was decided.

## II.—CONFERENCE AT LUCCA (56 B.C.); EXTENSION OF CÆSAR'S POWERS.

While the capital of the Roman world was given over to miserable intrigues, Cæsar was pursuing his glorious career. He seemed to be wholly occupied in his struggle with the Belgæ, the Suevi, or the Britons, but without quitting the provinces he was

<sup>1</sup> Remains of ancient baths in the foreground. (From a print in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.)

present at Rome. Gold, silver, and the spoils of conquest went fluther to be divided among the ædiles, the prætors, and even the consuls and their wives.

But Cæsar's glory, this conquest of Rome, effected at the same time as that of Gaul, was a fresh source of irritation to the nobles, and their opposition was redoubled against the victor whom they would willingly have seen vanquished or slain. "Society" took part in the matter. Women then held a great place in Roman society. Every beauty gathered round her a court anxious to win her favour. Fêtes were given, at which all Rome was entertained, and along the enchanted shores of Baïæ and Puteoli they turned night into day, or floated indolently over the sleeping waves amid music, singing, and flowers.<sup>1</sup> Gallant adventures were frequent and much talked of, and the license in speech was as great as in manners. Cæsar had risen too high by his victories for men of pleasure not to find, between their cups, at the close of a joyous repast, some biting piece of scandal against the former sybarite, whose labours were a reproach to their frivolity. Catullus, the most famous poet of the time, who has been called a republican in spite of himself, brought savage epigrams to these suppers. The insults that are fit to quote were the least among them. And the women applauded these invectives against the man who deprived them for war of those whom they would fain have retained for their pleasure. Nor was Pompey spared more than he.

Suetonius has preserved the memory of the *fumosa epigrammata* of another poet, Licinius Calvus, against the two triumvirs,<sup>2</sup> and these pieces, copied by some, recited by others with insulting commentaries, passed from hand to hand among the nobility. Wits often judge by the smaller sides of a man's character; the people, who simply feel, receive the vivid impression of great things unresistingly; they were prond of these Gallic victories which wiped out Rome's greatest humiliation and spread her name

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *pro Cælio*, 15; *Libidines, amores, adulteria, Baias, convivias, comissationes, cantus, symphonias, navigia*. This pleading belongs to the same year as the conference of Lucca (56 B.C.).

<sup>2</sup> Calvus was afterwards desirous of being reconciled with Cæsar, and the general, who heard of it, wrote to him first. When Catullus made excuses for his verses he admitted him to his table the same day. (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 73.)



far and wide.<sup>1</sup> Cæsar took care to let them be known in the city. A service of couriers perfectly organized quickly conveyed the news of his battles,<sup>2</sup> and the bulletins of the great army were a glorious reply to the malicious verses which the feigned republicans composed to destroy the proconsul's popularity.

For the time being, they were engaged in attempts to deprive him of his army and his provinces. The senate settled the proconsular provinces eighteen months in advance, and Cæsar's *quinquennium*, which had begun in 58 must end in 54; there was some ground therefore, for asking who should replace him.<sup>3</sup> Domitius Ahenobarbus, his old enemy, who was canvassing the consulship for the year 55, loudly declared that when he quitted office, consequently in 54, he should put himself at the head of the army in Gaul. A tribune had attacked the *Julian Law* relating to lands, and the debate in the curia had been very stormy. Cicero had been engaged in the matter. The nobility and he thought the moment had come for settling Cæsar's pretensions, and Pompey's too. The one was threatened in his command by the sending of a successor, and in his popularity by the repeal of his laws. The other, scoffed at by the people and repelled as a turncoat by the nobles, found himself exactly where the jealousy of the senate had placed him five years before, on his return from Asia, when Cæsar had saved his honour by obtaining the ratification of the acts of his generalship. Finally, if the Conscript Fathers had no army, they had Milo's band of gladiators, which increased in numbers daily,<sup>4</sup> and that was sufficient to get some vexatious proposition passed unexpectedly. It was high time then to take counsel. Cæsar prepared for

<sup>1</sup> Since Cæsar's brilliant successes, all opposition offered to him goes against the popular feeling and is unanimously condemned. (*ad Fam.*, i. 9.)

<sup>2</sup> Two of Cæsar's letters to Cicero arrived from Britain in twenty-eight and twenty-six days respectively.

<sup>3</sup> Since the *Sempronian Law*, the consular provinces had been selected by the senate before the election of the consuls, which took place in July 1, and the men chosen only entered office on January 1 following. The appointment must therefore take place more than eighteen months before the proconsul in charge ceased his functions. If Cicero in the *de Prov. cons.* (end of May, 56) combated the proposal to dispose of Cæsar's provinces, if Domitius declared that after his consulship in 55 he would assume the governorship of the Gauls, it was because Cæsar's powers only expired in 54 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> See (*ad Quint.*, ii. 6) how Milo bought under an assumed name the gladiators whom C. Cato could no longer support.



a striking display of his influence and a secret convention which should ensure its duration.

He was ending the winter at Lucca when the news spread in Rome that Crassus and Pompey had repaired thither to meet him,

that 200 senators were paying their court to him, with such a large number of important men that as many as 120 fasces of prætors and proconsuls had been seen at his door. Jupiter thundering in a clear sky would have caused far less terror than this terrible news; forthwith defections took place among the senators left in Rome. The most important was that of Cicero.

In the month of April, 56 B.C., he still spoke against the triumvirs with as much passion as Domitius, and he placed the grotesque Bibulus



Bestiarius.<sup>1</sup>

above all the conquerors in the world. Terrified by this unexpected triumph, which attested Cæsar's power at Rome and even in the senate, he threw himself on his side, blushing at his own want of courage, but openly avowing it. "Yes, it is a recantation;" writes he to Atticus, "farewell to integrity, to truth, and fine maxims; but who could imagine what perfidy there is in our so-called leaders. They have put me forward

<sup>1</sup> Marble group which formed part of the Giustiniani Collection. The rarity of the subject renders it peculiarly interesting. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 871, No. 2220.)

and then abandoned me and pushed me over the precipice." And even while he quoted Plato he told himself that he had done enough for the Republic, that it was time to think of repose and security<sup>1</sup>; "I must make an end of it; since those who can do nothing refuse me their friendship, I will seek friends among those who can do much," and he became "more supple than the ear-lap." C. Cato, one of the tribunes, made, it seems, the most violent propositions against Cæsar; Cicero styled them detestable and monstrous laws; and he never again let slip an opportunity of praising the proconsul of Gaul, declaring that instead of recalling him they ought to compel him to remain in his government, if he wished to leave it before the completion of his glorious labours. It is true that in his correspondence Cicero displayed totally different sentiments. This contradiction may be of service in estimating his character and courage, but it concerns his biographers only; his public adhesion, which must have induced that of many others, is of importance to the historian, for it explains the powerlessness of the republicans.

When Pompey, however, returned from Lucca to Rome there were violent altercations in the senate. Whilst some persisted in the proposal to recall Cæsar, others demanded for him the right of choosing ten lieutenants and drawing upon the treasury for the pay of the six legions which he had added to the four originally comprised in his government. Cicero opposed the former motion and supported the second; they dared not neglect his advice.<sup>2</sup> Did they think in their present ignorance about the conventions of Lucca, that by this concession they would win over Cæsar's friends, and with their support bring about the failure of the demand for a new consulship for Crassus and Pompey? Possibly so, at least the senatorial majority immediately turned against the two triumvirs, and decreed a national mourning, which was only assumed in public calamities. Preceded by the consul Marcellinus and clothed as on funeral days,<sup>3</sup> the senators went down to the

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Att.*, iv. 5; *Ita et esse et fore auricula infima scito molliorem (ad Quint., ii. 13 [15A].)*; Letter to Lentulus. (*ad Familiares*, i. 7.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Familiares*, i. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Dion says further on (xl. 46) that this mourning consisted in laying aside the senatorial toga and assuming the dress of knights, that is to say, in appearing degraded to a lower class.

Forum in the hope of impressing the imagination of the people by this display, and obtaining from them some favourable resolution. It was not for the Republic and for liberty that they were mourning, but for an oligarchy which felt its end drawing near. Therefore, when the funeral pageant advanced, when their haughty faces were cast down, with tears in their eyes, when those insolent hands were stretched suppliantly towards the crowd, the latter replied to this theatrical display of interested grief by angry jeering. In spite of the order of the senate, Pompey had retained his ordinary dress, and in energetic terms he censured this seditious proceeding. To his words Clodius added sarcasms and invectives; the uneasy senators hastily returned to the place where they had held their sitting, and as Clodius was nearly killed in the scuffle, the people wanted to burn the Curia and all who were in it.

As the pathetic policy had not succeeded, the senate tried authority, and drew up a decree, the terms of which we do not know, but which was doubtless intended to restore them the advantage in their struggle with Pompey. A large number of senators who were attached to or bribed by the triumvirs prevented its passing. Then Marcellinus, addressing himself directly to Cæsar's associates, asked them; "Do you both wish for the consulship, then?" "Perhaps so," they replied. Everyone understood what was meant, and the senate, seeing its own impotence, ceased its functions. "It was impossible," says an old historian, "to assemble the number of members required by the law,<sup>1</sup> to pass a *senatus-consultum* on the election of the magistrates, and the year ended without the senate going out of mourning; they were present neither at the public games nor at the banquet held in the Capitol in honour of Jupiter, nor at the Latin *feriæ* at the Alban Mount. As though they had been reduced to slavery, they took no part in any public affair."<sup>2</sup> Even the courts were suspended.

The consular elections had not been made at the usual time,

<sup>1</sup> Probably a hundred at least; that is the number required by the *senatus-consultum* (*de Bacchanatibus*; see vol. ii. p. 245.)

<sup>2</sup> Dion, xxxix. 29 and 30. *Curie taciturnitatem annuam, . . . silentium perpetuum judiciorum ac fori.* (Cic., *in Pison.*, 14.)

so that every five days it was necessary to appoint an interrex, whose principal duty was to hold the comitia when it was possible to assemble them. The president of these assemblies had great influence over the election, because it was his duty to present the list of candidates to the people; he could refuse to put down names which did not suit him. Crassus and Pompey waited till it came to the turn of a senator on whom they could count, and then put themselves down on the lists. Only one other candidate dared to present himself, Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cato's brother-in-law. On the day of the voting, as he was going to the Forum in the early morning with many of his clients, a band of men fell upon him; the slave who preceded him was killed, and he had only just time to get away, wounded, with Cato; the trimvirs were elected. They filled all offices with their creatures, and prevented the nomination of Cato as prætor. For the ædileship a regular fight took place in the Campus Martius, in which many were killed or wounded. Pompey's toga was covered with blood. At the sight of this blood-stained robe Julia thought her husband was slain, and fainted away. The accident brought on a premature confinement, and from that time she began to droop. In a year's time she died in giving birth to a child which did not live, and Cæsar, who would have been bound to Pompey by twofold bonds, as his wife's father and his child's grandsire, became estranged from him; in a few years he was his opponent, then his enemy. This family misfortune was to cause many disasters.<sup>2</sup>

The triumvirs had assumed the consulship in order to get something more. The tribune Trebonius brought forward a *rogatio* giving Spain and Africa<sup>3</sup> to Pompey, and Syria with the neighbouring

Spain Personified.<sup>1</sup>Africa Personified.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On a denarius of the Postumian family.

<sup>2</sup> [If I read rightly Cæsar's character, historians have laid far too much stress on this family event. I cannot think that Julia's being alive would have made the smallest difference in the policy of either Cæsar or Pompey. Whether she would have returned to her father or stayed with her husband seems uncertain, but of no political importance.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> AFRICA S. C. Africa, with an elephant's head as head-dress, holds a scorpion in her right hand, her left arm leans upon a horn of plenty; in front of her are some ears of wheat.

<sup>4</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 18, and Plut., *Pomp.*, 52. Africa continued to have special governors,



countries<sup>1</sup> to Crassus for five years, with the right to enrol as many soldiers as they liked. The plebiscitum did not pass without violence; Cato was once more dragged from the rostra and carried off to prison. The senatorial party had succeeded in putting into the tribuneship two of their own men. One of these, Gallus, in order to appear unexpectedly and oppose his veto at the right moment, came by night and hid himself in the Curia Hostilia, near the Forum. Trebonius, who knew of this, shut him up in it and kept him there all day; the other, Ateius, being unable to reach the rostra, was hoisted on to his clients' shoulders and cried that Jupiter was thundering; he was answered by blows, was wounded, and several citizens perished, after which Trebonius declared that the people accepted the law (55 B.C.).

Cæsar had faithfully carried out the arrangements agreed upon at Luca.<sup>2</sup> A number of soldiers of the Gallie legions despatched to Rome under the young Crassus, preceded by a glorious reputation, had by their vote ensured the success of the consular elections, and the author of the Trebonian plebiscitum was one of his agents. Crassus and Pompey had now to keep their word. On the day after that on which the rogation of Trebonius had been voted, the two consuls got a law passed called *Licinia-Pompeia*, prolonging Cæsar's proconsulship. For how many years? Doubtless for five.<sup>3</sup>

Pompey, who was indebted to Cæsar for his extrication from a quandary into an eminent position, could not so soon break his word to him. Cæsar was therefore, as the writers of most authority say, continued in his proconsulship for five years. He had the right to choose ten lieutenants, and to draw, like Pompey, upon the public treasury for the pay of his legions, instead of furnishing it out of the spoils of war, thus leaving vast resources in his hands.

but they were placed under the superior authority of Pompey, who for his superintendence of provisions needed to hold command in the province which was looked upon as Rome's granary.

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα αὐτῆς. (Dion, xxxix. 33.)

<sup>2</sup> Ὡς περ ὑπέστησαν. (App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 18.)

<sup>3</sup> According to Cicero, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Suetonius, Appian, Plutarch, and Cæsar; for three according to Dion. Reason, agreeing with the oldest texts, says that the prolongation must have been equal in duration to the proconsular powers which Crassus and Pompey had just obtained, and that Cæsar could not consent, as would have happened on Dion's hypothesis, to leave his rivals in possession of armies, provinces and treasures, when he himself became simply a private individual.

Finally a second consulship was promised him for the year 48,<sup>1</sup> and a later law authorized him to canvass for it while absent.<sup>2</sup> The *triarchy*, or government by three, was re-established.

This time Crassus and Pompey thought they had established equality between themselves and their colleague; they had as many provinces, and they could have as many legions as the proconsul of Gaul. They even had the advantage over him of being in possession of the consulship, and Pompey still retained his superintendence of provisions, which permitted his remaining at the centre of government. But in meditating a struggle with the Parthians which should procure him renown and wealth equal to Cæsar's, Crassus over-estimated his strength; by taking Spain and Africa, which were peaceable provinces save for a few partial revolts, Pompey found neither glory nor spoil for his legions, and the right which he retained of remaining at Rome was the cause of his ruin. At the decisive moment Gaul and the Cæsarians divided the Pompeian legions from their leader, that is to say, when the inevitable rupture took place, Pompey was cut off before hostilities had commenced.

The year 55 passed away without any important events, and the triumvirs, confident of the future, allowed Domitius to obtain the consulship and Cato the prætorship for the following year; the hatred of either no longer seemed dangerous.<sup>3</sup>

### III.—EXPEDITION OF CRASSUS AGAINST THE PARTHIANS (54 B.C.).

Crassus was sixty years old, had a large fortune,<sup>4</sup> but no large views. Loaded with honours, twice consul, his mind untroubled

<sup>1</sup> Our texts do not mention it, but neither do they speak of the agreements concluded at Lucca, because these things are not openly declared; subsequent facts prove that the engagement must have been entered into.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> In the preceding year Cato would have been appointed prætor, had not Pompey, seeing that the prerogative century was giving him its voice, stopped the voting by declaring that he had heard thunder. (Plut., *Pomp.*, 52.) In the elections for the year 54 the canvassing had been shameful, but the aristocracy had made this great effort too late; the triumvirs were secure.

<sup>4</sup> Though he had during his first consulship consecrated the tenth of his goods to Hercules, given a banquet of 10,000 tables to the people, and distributed to each citizen corn for three

by high and patriotic ideas, he could have quietly enjoyed his wealth and a sufficient amount of public esteem; he would even have found in this voluntary repose what the sage seeks when he reached the wane of life, the *otium cum dignitate*. But his ambition was the ambition of small minds, who desire power, and either know not what to do with it or employ it ill. He wished to raise himself to the stature of Pompey and Cæsar. For sixteen years he had not appeared in the camps, and during these years one had pacified Asia, the other had conquered Gaul. Crassus was anxious to revive by fresh exploits the fading memory of his former successes and to equal the exploits of his rivals. The proconsul of the Gauls had penetrated into the extreme west; he, a new Alexander, would fain cross the Indus and seek, beyond the Ganges, the utmost limits of the East. Cæsar and Pompey encouraged him in his rash enterprise, in order to accustom the Romans to those great commands which were unknown to the true Republic. Crassus did not even wait till the expiration of his consular magistracy; by the 28th of October he had completed his final preparations. But an unexpected opposition broke out against this war. There were eight legions in Gaul, and others in Spain, Africa, and Italy, and now the Syrian expedition required seven more to proceed into unknown dangers, in contempt of treaties and of the Sibylline oracles. The senate had refused the necessary decree, and the people, stirred up by the two tribunes of the party of the nobles, had opposed the departure of Crassus; Pompey had to open a way for him through the crowd by walking before him. At the city gates he found the fierce Ateius, who poured libations and incense on a burning brazier, while he pronounced against him, against his army, and even against Rome the most terrible imprecations.

Since Pompey's administration the face of things had undergone no change in the East. Æmilius Scaurus, his quæstor, whom he had left in Syria with two legions to keep the Arabs in check, had sold peace and war there for three years. His two successors (59—58) had done nothing remarkable, either good or bad, during their brief administration. Yet Syria, placed between Egypt and

months, he still possessed, before the Parthian expedition, 7,100 talents (£1,730,000). (Plut., *Crassus*, 2 and 12.)









the Parthians, offered many resources to an enterprising spirit; towards the Euphrates there was glory to be won; towards Pelusium riches to be extorted; and besides only three governors had passed over this recent conquest; it was still a good mine to work. Gabinius, Pompey's former agent and the friend of Clodius, had after his consulship got this province given him by the tribune, in order to repair his shattered fortune there. A few fortunate expeditions against the Arabs and Jews, the abolition of royalty in Palestine, which he divided into five provinces, each ruled by a sovereign council, won for him the title of *imperator*. But the senate, urged on by Cicero, his personal enemy, and by the *publicani*, whose rapine he had stopped that he himself might have the more to take, had refused to decree *supplicationes* for him. A second revolt of the Jews had shown the indomitable character of that little nation. Gabinius had left to his quæstor, Marc Antony, a rough and coarse soldier of distinguished bravery, the task of chastising them, in order to leave himself free for a more lucrative expedition against the Parthians. Their king had just been assassinated by two of his sons, who had afterwards disputed the crown, and the weaker of the two implored the aid of Gabinius, promising to guide the legions. Already the Roman general had passed the Euphrates when he was won over by an offer of 10,000 talents, and retraced his steps to go to Alexandria, in spite of the senate and the Sibylline books, to re-establish Ptolemy Anletes, to whom he afterwards sold the half of his army. This shameful expedition was ended, and he was preparing to resume his march to the Euphrates, when Crassus arrived. At Rome an accusation was brought against Gabinus of an attempt against the majesty of the Roman people; he bought his acquittal. But in a second trial, in which Cicero was weak enough to defend him in order to gratify Pompey, he was niggardly towards his judges and was condemned to exile.<sup>1</sup>

Crassus embarked his army at Brindisi, and as it was the bad season he dared not trust his fleet to sail round Greece and reach the coasts of Syria through the sea of the Cyclades. These

<sup>1</sup> Concerning Gabinius, see Cic., *de Prov. cons.*: App., *Syr.*, 51; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 4 *sqq.*; and *de Bell. Jud.*, i. 8. This proconsul, who has almost been ranked beside Verres, had yet done good in Judæa, where he rebuilt twenty towns. Josephus speaks of him with esteem.

Romans were poor sailors but excellent roadsters. Crassus, disembarking at Dyrrachium, followed the *via Egnatia* through Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace; he crossed the Hellespont, no doubt about Lampsacus, and reached Galatia, where he found king Dejotarus engaged, notwithstanding his great age, in building a new town. "What!" said Crassus, "at the twelfth hour of the day you begin to build!" To which the Gaul laughingly replied; "Why, then thyself dost not start very early upon so distant an expedition." Crassus traversed the whole of Asia Minor, and entered Syria from the north.



Arsaces VI.<sup>1</sup>

The Parthians originally inhabited a great country bounded on the south, west, and north by the mountains of Persis, of Media, and Hyrcania, and extending on the east in barren plains towards Aria and Margiana. They resembled their neighbours, the Seythians, being, like them, excellent horsemen and incomparable archers. In the middle of the third century before our era they had one of those able chiefs who in a few years prepare a new fortune for a nation. Arsaces shook off the yoke of Alexander's indolent successors and founded the Parthian monarchy, all the kings of which took his name and were called Arsacides. The sixth was a great prince, a legislator and conqueror, who overcame the Grecian king of Bactriana, Eucratidas,<sup>2</sup> ruled from the Indus to the Euphrates, and in 138 B.C. took Demetrius Nicator, king of Syria, prisoner.

Having become masters of Asia, the Parthians had quickly changed their camel-hair tents into sumptuous palaces, their skin dresses into flowing robes,<sup>3</sup> their coarse manners into habits of refined effeminacy. They retained however, some remnant of their original vigour; a warlike nobility surrounded the prince. When they set out to war he could summon to his standard eighteen

<sup>1</sup> From a silver coin of Arsaces VI., also called Mithridates I.

<sup>2</sup> There remains an unique gold coin of this prince. It weighs twenty staters (221 $\frac{2}{3}$  grains), the thickness is .12342 inches, and the diameter 3.2677 inches. I bought it in 1867, on the information of M. Chabouillet, for 30,000 francs, half of which was furnished by the budget of the *Bibliothèque nationale*, and the remainder given by the Emperor. Our Cabinet could now easily dispose of it for 100,000 francs. This coin is given on a separate page, in colours, and of the size of the original.

<sup>3</sup> *Illic et larvas vestes et flava virorum velamenta vides.* (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, viii. 331.)









P. SELLIER, del.

GOLD COIN OF EUCRATIDAS

Imp. Fraillery.



kings, to whom he had given as fiefs as many satrapies, and his horsemen, the *cataphracti*, clad in coats of mail, were held, after the defeat of Crassus, to be irresistible.<sup>1</sup>

The Arsacides, who were enemies of the Armenians, sought the alliance of Rome at the commencement of the contests of Tigranes with the great Republic. In 92 B.C., Arsaces IX. sent deputies to Sylla,<sup>2</sup> and Arsaces XII. renewed this alliance during the war of Lucullus against the kings of Pontus and Armenia. But when he proposed to Pompey to fix the frontier between the two empires at the Euphrates, the proconsul returned no answer to these overtures, and refused to recognize the prince's title of King of Kings. This was a means of reserving for Roman ambition all future contingencies. The Civil war, which a few years afterwards shook the Parthian empire, seemed as if it must bring it to that state of semi-subjection which for States bordering on Rome was the forerunner of approaching absorption. Gabinius had been on the point of conducting Mithridates, one of the parricidal sons of Arsaces XII., back to Selencia. Had he made this expedition he would no doubt have left a garrison in the royal town, as he had done at Alexandria, and the Tigris, instead of the Euphrates, might have become the eastern frontier of Rome. But the promises of Ptolemy Anketes overcame those of Mithridates, and the Parthian prince, having attempted to overthrow his brother Orodes alone, was besieged, taken, and slain by him in Babylon.

Notwithstanding his death, there remained troubles enough in the kingdom for an able man to have profited by them. Crassus neither gave himself time to become acquainted with the country nor to enter into useful intrigues with the malcontents and the neighbouring nations, who would have furnished him with a numerous cavalry; he hastened to cross the Euphrates, took a few towns, dispersed some troops, and caused himself to be

<sup>1</sup> Among the troops of the king of Armenia there were also *cataphracti*, and Lucullus easily overcame them; but he was a different kind of general from Crassus, and had managed to choose his own battlefield. The Romans at length formed squadrons of *cataphracti*; no other horsemen were known in the Middle Ages, and we still have them in our cuirassiers. The Parthian cavaliers had no shield, that they might draw the bow more easily, and in the plains of Mesopotamia that projectile was far superior to the hand weapons of the legionaries. (Dion, xl. 15.)

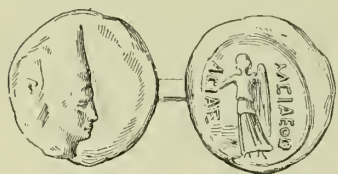
<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 649.



proclaimed *imperator* for these slight successes. But instead of advancing boldly upon Babylon and Seleucia, since the enemy did not seem ready to defend themselves, and rapidly securing those two towns which held the Parthian rule in detestation, he returned to winter in Syria, where he allowed his army to relax its discipline (54 B.C.). He himself, in spite of his sixty-one years, only busied himself in visiting the temples and despoiling them of their treasures; those at Hierapolis and Jerusalem were plundered; from the latter he carried off 2,000 talents.<sup>2</sup> An embassy from Orodes having

Artavasdes.<sup>1</sup>

demanding an explanation of this violation of the territory of the empire; "I will give an answer," said he, "at Seleucia." To which one of the envoys replied; "You will enter it when hairs have sprouted there," showing him the palm of his hand. Artavasdes, king of Armenia, joined him with 6,000

Coin of Artavasdes.<sup>3</sup>

horsemen clad in mail, and offered a passage through his kingdom, where the Roman army would find provisions, secure roads, ground favourable for his tactics, and the assistance of 30,000 Armenians; Crassus refused.

Coin of Zeugma.<sup>4</sup>

Having decided to cross the plains of Mesopotamia in order to reach Ctesiphon, the new capital of the Parthian empire, more quickly, he passed the Euphrates a second time at Zeugma with seven legions and 4,000 horse. A violent storm broke down the bridges behind him. The legate Cassius wanted to follow the Euphrates and have a flotilla loaded with provisions descend the stream. But an Arab chief sent by the Parthians to draw Crassus into their arid plains

<sup>1</sup> Clarac, *Iconographie*, pl. 1035, No. 3053.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Head of Artavasdes. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ; Victory marching. Bronze coin of Artavasdes.

<sup>4</sup> ΖΕΥΜΑΤΕΩΝ, instead of ΖΕΥΓΜΑΤΕΩΝ, the name of the inhabitants of Zeugma. Reverse of a great bronze piece of the emperor Philip, struck at Zeugma.

persuaded him that he had only to show himself to conquer, and that he must make haste if he wished to seize their treasures, which they were arranging to hide among the Hyreanians and Seythians. The proconsul followed this treacherous advice and entered upon that sea of sand where his soldiers soon lacked everything, even confidence in their leader (53 B.C.).

The Parthians had divided their forces. Orodes operated in the north with his infantry with a view of stopping the king of Armenia as he came out of the mountains, and the *surenâ*, or commander-in-chief, collected an innumerable body of cavalry in the west to envelop the heavy Roman infantry amid the immense plains. The two armies met not far from the little river Balissus (Belik). The young Crassus, who had come from Gaul, where he had distinguished himself, to join his father, had taken command of the cavalry and urged on the decision with confidence. Suddenly the hostile army, apparently small in number, deployed. The close ranks of the Romans resisted the shock, but their arms of short range were useless. If they advanced, the Parthians fled; if they halted, the squadrons wheeled round the motionless mass and riddled it with arrows from a distance.<sup>1</sup> The light infantry which Crassus sent out against them soon took refuge in the midst of the square in disorder. He hoped that at length those terrible arrows would be exhausted, but as soon as the soldiers of the first line emptied their quivers they retired into the rearguard, where camels carried immense supplies. The proconsul ordered his son to break up this circle of men, horses, and arrows which incessantly enveloped the legions. The younger Crassus charged at the head of 1,300 horse, of whom 1,000 were Gauls. The enemy yielded, drew him far from the field of battle, with a part of the infantry which followed him at the sight of a flying enemy, then they wheeled round and surrounded him. What could their javelins do against these men all covered with iron? For a few moments there was a heroic struggle, a hand-to-hand fight; the Gauls dismounted from their horses in order to go and stab those of the

<sup>1</sup> See, on p. 177, an observation of Napoleon on this subject. The arm of the Romans was the *pilum*, which did not go very far, and especially the sword;

*Ensis habet vires, et gens quæcunque virorum est  
Bella gerit gladiis.* (Lucan, *Phars.*, viii.)

enemy in the belly. When their intrepid young leader, covered with wounds, was no longer in a state to fight, they carried him to a hillock and formed a kind of wall round him with their shields. But throughout the extent of the plain there were only hostile squadrons to be seen; flight and resistance were alike impossible. The young Crassus made his squire kill him.

The consul had taken advantage of the lull in the principal attack to reach a hill. He thought the victory was secured, when the enemy's cavalry came back, and with shouts of joy and insulting words paraded his son's head in the face of the legions. The fight began again and lasted till night with the same vicissitudes. At length the Parthians departed, shouting to the unhappy father that they left him a night to bewail his son. Lying on the ground in gloomy dejection Crassus felt the full depth of the abyss into which his ambition had plunged him. In vain did Cassius try to restore his courage; he himself had to give the order for retreat, abandoning 4,000 wounded. They reached the town of Carrhæ, but could not dream of shutting themselves up in it; in the evening the army noiselessly departed. Being led astray by their guides they were again joined by the Parthians, and the terrified soldiers forced the triumvir to accept an interview with the *surenæ*. It was a trap; Crassus and his escort were massacred (June 8, 53 B.C.).

When they brought the triumvir's head to Orodes the *Bacchæ* of Euripides were being played before the barbarian king. The actor seized the hideous trophy, and sang as Agave, who held the head of Pentheus; "We bring from the mountains this stag which has just been slain; we go to the palace, applaud ye our hunting."

Some feeble remnants of the seven legions succeeded in recrossing the Euphrates; Cassius, who had started from Carrhæ before his general, and fortunately reached Syria, had time to organize a defence, and when the Parthians appeared in the following year he repulsed them (52). A second and more formidable attempt, which they made under the leadership of Pacorus, the son of their king, succeeded no better (51). Cassius, shut up in Antioch, allowed them to plunder the province, and when he saw them confident and in disorder he inflicted a defeat

upon them which freed Syria. It was a doubly fortunate success, for the senate had just made the mistake of sending, into the provinces threatened by the Parthians, two of its members most incapable of leading an army, Bibulus into Syria, and Cicero in Cilicia. It was by the drawing of lots that, in virtue of a recent law of Pompey's, these governments had been assigned to them. The decisions of the blind god had very frequently been rectified or forestalled, but this time nothing was done. Fortunately, Bibulus reached his province after the victory of Cassius, and Cicero never had occasion even to see the enemy who had just been driven back across the Euphrates. Emboldened by this defeat, and eager to add the glory of the warrior to that of the orator, Cicero ordered his brother Quintus, who had learnt the art of war under Caesar, to make Rome's hand felt by certain mountaineers in Cilicia. Quintus burnt several towns, took the stronghold of Pindenissus, and caused his brother to be proclaimed *imperator* by the troops. From that time Cicero never ceased to claim a triumph, and until the middle of the Civil war, when the world was held in suspense by the great struggle between Caesar and Pompey, he was to be seen wandering about in Italy or Epirus with his lictors, carrying their fasces crowned with laurels, a miserable vanity, which lowers our esteem for the foe of Catiline and Antonius, the author of the *de Officiis* and the *Verrine Orations*.

The disaster of Crassus long restrained the rule of Rome from spreading beyond the Euphrates. We shall see later on why it was difficult to cross the river, and why Rome only did so under valiant princes through the north of Mesopotamia.

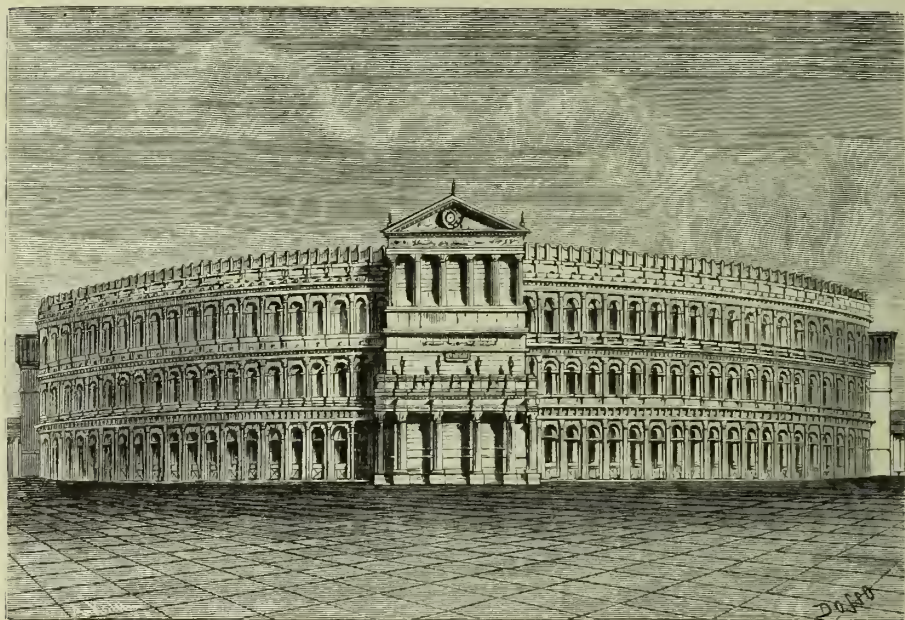
#### IV.—FRESH DISORDERS IN ROME; POMPEY SOLE CONSUL (52 B.C.).

During the disastrous expedition of Crassus, Pompey had remained at Rome. He had sought to consolidate his influence by the magnificence of the games which he gave at the inauguration of his theatre; 40,000 spectators were accommodated, and 500 lions were slain. At the expiration of his consular year he had sent lieutenants to Spain, and under the pretext of fulfilling the duties of his office concerning provisions, he had remained near



Rome. This consulship, for which the city had so long been troubled, had produced no results,<sup>1</sup> none, at least, in useful reforms, but many for the ambitious general who had appropriated so many personal advantages. When we compare this sterility with the fruitful activity of Cæsar in 59,<sup>2</sup> we have the measure of the two men.

On laying down the fasces, Pompey left the Republic in the



Pompey's Theatre.<sup>3</sup>

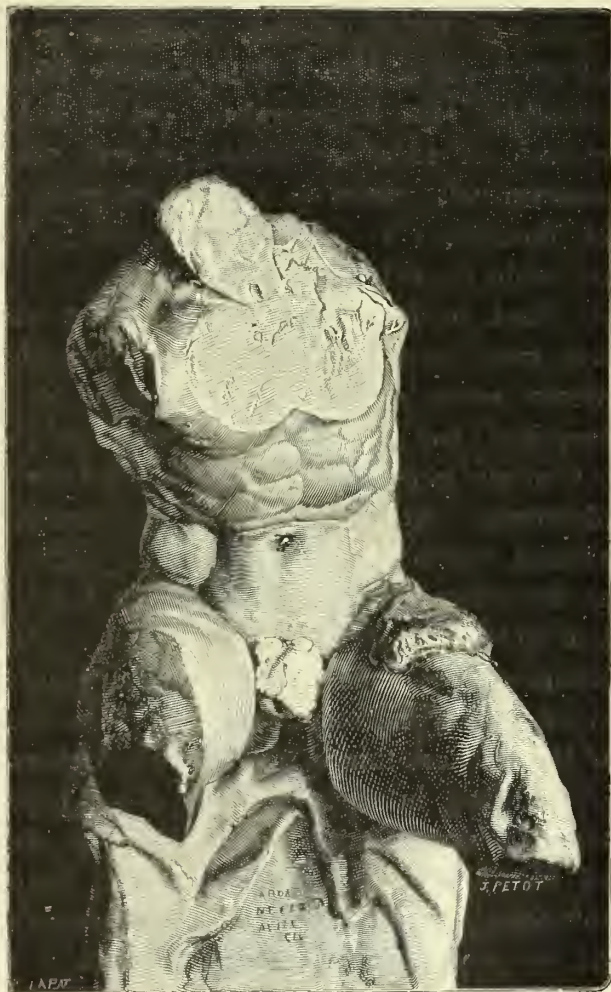
most deplorable condition. All was literally estimated in gold, the merit of the candidates as well as the innocence of accused persons, and the Forum was merely a market where men bought votes, offices, and provinces. Gabinius had sold Egypt for 10,000 talents to Ptolemy Auletes, and robbed the Syrians of 100,000,000

<sup>1</sup> The legislative activity of Pompey and Crassus during their second consulship was only marked by a useless proposal of a sumptuary law, which was not accepted (Dion, xxxix. 37), and by a law to raise the census requisite for being a judge, which had no effect except to increase the price for which judges sold themselves.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 54 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> As restored by M. Victor Baltard (Ecole des beaux-arts). It was the first theatre at Rome built of stone. Hitherto the censors had only authorized temporary wooden theatres, but Pompey placed a temple on the summit of his, and the marble benches upon which the spectators sat having now become the steps of a sanctuary, were respected. The law was thus violated, as the Romans were wont to do it, without disrespect.

drachmæ; he had even revolted against Rome, despising the *senatus-consultum* and the Sibylline books, leaving his province notwithstanding the express prohibitions of the law, and refusing to hand over his government to the successor who was sent to replace him. The irritation against him in the senate was very great, less on account of the illegalities he had committed than of this immense wealth, which seemed as if it would leave nothing for his successors. In spite of Pompey's assistance he was condemned. A single fact will show how far the general depravity extended. C. Memmins, writes Cicero, had just read in open senate an election bargain made between him and his fellow-candidate, Domitius on the one



Torso found near the Theatre of Pompeii.<sup>1</sup>

side, and the two consuls in office on the other. By this treaty Memmius and Domitius engaged, on condition of being appointed

<sup>1</sup> It is thought that this admirable torso, which was discovered in the fifteenth century near the spot where Pompey's theatre stood (now *Campo de Fiore*), formed part of a statue of Hercules seated, at the moment when the hero became a god upon Mount Ceta. The inscription cut upon the rock, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ (Apollonios son of Nestor, the Athenian, made it), gives us the name of the author of the masterpiece and the time when he lived, for the form Ω belongs to the last days of the Republic. Pompey may have employed the Athenian artist, then, upon the decoration of his theatre. This masterpiece is in the Vatican. (*Mus. Pio-Clement.*) [It roused the enthusiasm of Winckelmann.—*Ed.*]

consuls for the following year, either to pay to the consuls in office 400,000 sesterces, or to procure (1) three augurs to affirm that they had been present at the promulgation of a *lex curiata* which did not exist, (2) two *consulares* to declare they had been at a sitting for the distribution of consular provinces,—a sitting which had never taken place.<sup>1</sup> “How many dishonest folk in a single contract!” says Montesquieu. Let us add that 400,000 sesterces for such an audacious double lie was valuing the consciences of *consulares* and augurs at a very low price, but the people did not put themselves at a very high one; Verres had bought his prætorship for only 80,000 sesterces.

Hand in hand with venality went violence; every moment there were arrows, stones, helter-skelter flight; not a day passed without some murder<sup>2</sup>—even a consul was wounded. A certain Pomptinus had waited seven years outside the Pomærium for a triumph which the senate refused to accord him over the Allobroges. At length one of the prætors, who was his friend, gathered together a few citizens at daybreak, and in defiance of the law which forbade all assemblies before the first hour, he got them to vote what Pomptinus wished. This persevering candidate triumphed, but amidst very great disorder; fighting went on at several points, and some were slain. For the most paltry ambitions, for the smallest things, the law was violated and blood flowed.<sup>3</sup>

Imagine, in such a state of society, Cato, who was then prætor, going without tunic or shoes to sit on his judgment-seat, and distributing among the populace, instead of the ostentatious profusions to which they were accustomed—radishes, lettuce, and figs, or proposing, after the extermination of the Tenthetheri and Usipii, that Cæsar should be given up to the Germans as a violator of the public peace. It will be easily understood why such an opposition did not go beyond a protest which did no good, and made everyone smile except Favonius, Cato’s ape.

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Att.*, iv. 18. When Cicero canvassed the ædileship all the people had been for him; yet the *divisores* undertook for 500,000 sesterces to cause his failure. (*In Verr.*, 8.) During the elections of the year 54 the interest on money rose in the city from 4 to 8 per cent. (*ad Att.*, iv. 15.)

<sup>2</sup> Σφαγαὶ καθ’ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν. (Dion., xl. 48.) Cicero had said (*in Pison.*, 12): . . . *fracti fuscæ, ictus consul, quotidie tela, lapides, fugæ.*

<sup>3</sup> Dion., xxxix. 65; in the year 54 B.C.



These two men, who thought themselves Romans of the ancient time, did not change, but many others had changed. We have seen the rapid change of front effected by Cicero at the time of the conference of Lucca. The excellent man who in a peaceful state would have honourably kept the foremost place, was in this stormy Republic drawn in opposite directions by his ideas and by his interests; now one side carried him away, now the other, for he was as poor in strength of character as he was rich in talents. For the time being, his interests attached him to Cæsar, whom he wearied with praises. He had commenced a poem in honour of the proconsul, and he was careful to let him know of it; when the poem was finished he sent it to him, and then began another.<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, who always treated the great orator considerably because he liked his wit, took his brother Quintus as lieutenant, and charged Cicero with the employment of a portion of the funds which he transmitted to Rome for his buildings. When Quintus reproached his brother for having obliged him to accept this lieutenancy, with its fatigues and dangers, in a country which seemed to Cicero himself to be at the world's end;<sup>2</sup> "The reward of this sacrifice," he answered, "will be the consolidation of our political position by the friendship of a powerful and good man." We see what the limit of his desires was. He did not even fear the imminent dictatorship of Pompey; he conversed about it without indignation, as about any other event. "Does Pompey wish for it? Does he not wish for it? Who knows? But everyone is talking about it." "And everyone," adds Appian, "wished it." Men said so openly; "For the present ills there is only one remedy, the authority of a single individual."<sup>3</sup> Pompey protested against it, but all the while he secretly encouraged the disorders which rendered this dictatorship necessary. At least, among the conservatives, many thought they could trace his hand in the disturbances.

For the second time within three years the consular elections could not be held (in 53); the interregnum lasted seven months.

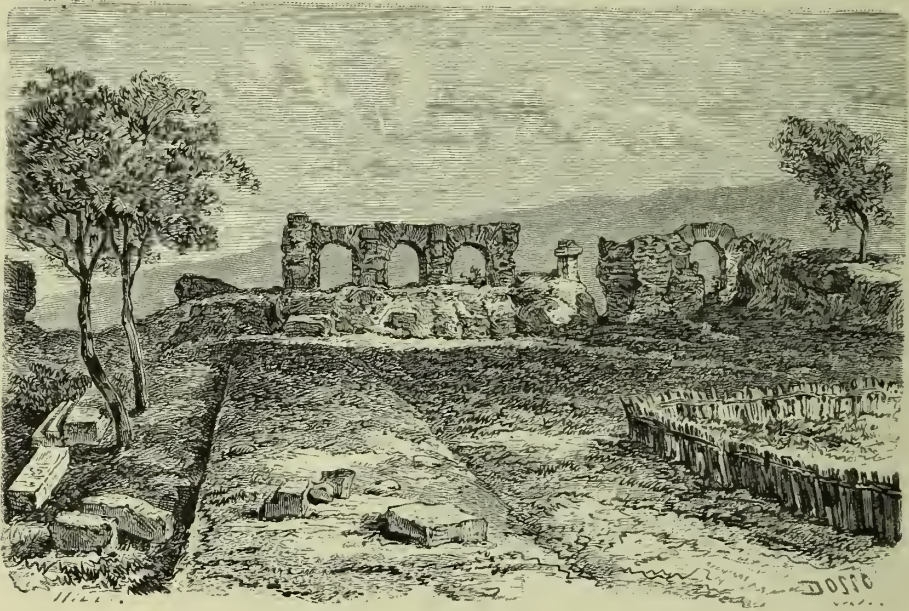
<sup>1</sup> *Institutum ad illum poema . . . cognovit Cæsar. (ad Quint., iii. 8.)*

<sup>2</sup> *Ubi isti sint Nervii et quam longe absint, nescio. (Ibid.)*

<sup>3</sup> *Bell. civ., ii. 19-20.* The picture this historian draws of the Republic is that of a society in a state of decomposition.



For the sake of peace the nobles drew nearer the threatening sphinx, whose wishes they guessed, but who still continued to conceal them. By appearing to believe in his disinterestedness they forced him, by well calculated flatteries, to allow two consuls to be elected in the seventh month. Either through the real powerlessness of this government to last any longer or through Pompey's intrigues, or rather perhaps through these two causes combined, the interregnum began again in the following year (52 B.C.). Milo and Scipio demanded the consulship with arms



Ruins of the Circus of Bovillæ.<sup>1</sup>

in their hands. Clodius canvassed the prætorship in the same manner, and every day some sedition broke out.<sup>2</sup>

During these obscure murders, there was one which brought the disorder to its highest pitch. Milo, on his road to Lanuvium, his native town, of which he was chief magistrate (dictator), met Clodius on the Appian Way, near Bovillæ. Like the Roman barons of the Middle Ages, they neither of them travelled without being escorted by a band of fighting-men. The two troops had passed, when two of Milo's gladiators, who had remained behind,

<sup>1</sup> According to Canina, *la Prima parte della via Appia*, pl. 49.

<sup>2</sup> . . . *Armis et vi contendebant.* Livy, *Epit.*, cvii.)

picked a quarrel with some of Clodius' people. He, hastening up to the help of his men, was wounded, and took refuge in a hostelry. Milo thought it would not cost him any more trouble to despatch him, and as his band was numerous, the other party fled, leaving eleven dead on the spot. The door of the inn was then broken in, the innkeeper slain, Clodius stabbed through and through and his body thrown out into the road, where it remained till evening. A senator returning from his villa took it back to Rome<sup>1</sup> (December 13, 53 B.C.). Fulvia the wife of Clodius, his family the powerful *gens Claudia*, and the people, whose favourite he had long been, cried for vengeance; the body was exposed on the rostra, and the deeply stirred mob gave him for a funeral-pyre the edifice wherein the senate assembled. When they had burnt the Curia they tried to set fire to Milo's house, then to that of the interrex, but knights and senators hastened up in arms; fighting and slaughter still went on the following days. Vagabonds and thieves took advantage of these murders to ply their trade. Under pretext of searching for Milo's accomplices they penetrated into the houses and stole; in the streets they slew those whose rich costume or gold rings promised to make it profitable work to strip their bodies.<sup>2</sup> Politics, or what was so called, screened all excesses.

We can easily understand that these abominations ended by opening the eyes of those who kept them obstinately shut, that they might not see that the only means of saving perishing social life was the concentration of power in the hands of an energetic leader. A *senatus-consultum* decided that the burnt Curia should be rebuilt at the expense of the treasury by Faustus Sylla, and that it should bear his father's name. By this unexpected homage to the memory of the executioner of the Marians, the senatorial majority showed at the same time its sentiments regarding the nephew of Marius and the grateful remembrance it retained of the man who, thirty years before, had restored order by his dictatorship. But lately Cato was still attacking Pompey in the senate. "He disposes of everything," said he; "lately he lent Cæsar

<sup>1</sup> The murder took place of the 13th of the kalends of February, 52 B.C., according to the Roman Calendar; in reality it was on the 13th December, 53 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 22.

6,000 men without the one asking you for them or the other warning you about it. Arms, horses, a whole legion are the presents which individuals now exchange. With his title of *imperator* Pompey distributes armies and provinces, while he remains in the city and plans troubles and seditions in order to open by anarchy a road to the royalty.”<sup>1</sup> But in face of the imminent dissolution of the State, Cato too came to despair of the Republic. He saw it threatened by two dangers; within by anarchy, which was only too certain, without by Cæsar, who had not yet however, justified his suspicions either by acts or words; and when he looked round for some one who would defend the aristocracy, he found, even in those whom Cicero had called the party of honest men, so much indifference that at length he decided to demand from a man the protection which the laws could no longer afford. “It is better,” said he, “to choose a master than to await the tyrant, who must certainly rise from this huge disorder,” and he supported the proposal made by Bibulus to appoint Pompey sole consul. He thought that, satisfied with this title, Pompey would use his power with moderation, that he would re-establish order in the town, and would be able to make Cæsar leave his army. By-and-bye Cato promised to bring him to a reckoning with the senate. If he failed, this dictatorship would at least have only been a passing and beneficent tyranny. Pompey confirmed him in this hope by pretending to act henceforth only according to his advice. He was elected sole consul on the 27th of February, 52 B.C.

This event was a grave one, for it completed Pompey’s reconciliation with the senate and his rupture with the proconsul of the Gauls. For two years this result had been foreseen. The death of Julia had broken a bond which both of them might possibly have respected (54), and after the death of Crassus (53) they found themselves face to face without any intermediary to avert or break the shocks. A rivalry of three may last; a rivalry of two soon leads to a war. Pompey had long seen the falseness of his position; he was only waiting for the support of the senate

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Cato*, 45. In the preceding year, 53, an attempt had been made to bring forward in the senate the question of the recall of Crassus (Cic., *ad Fam.*, v. 8); this was an indirect attack upon Cæsar.



to break with him; now he found the nobles and even Cato offering him, by a violation of all constitutional regulations, an unshared dominion.

Being proconsul of Spain he was legally considered as *absent*, that is to say, incapable of being elected to an urban office, and yet the consulship was bestowed upon him! This supreme magistracy of the city ought always to be shared, and he was sole consul. If he wished for a colleague, he himself, and not the comitia, was to choose him, and even then they exacted pledges against his disinterestedness by not allowing him to provide himself with this colleague, formerly necessary before the expiration of two months.<sup>1</sup> The consul had not military authority, the *jus necis*; in Rome, Pompey, remaining governor of a province, kept the *imperium*, and in order that none might dispute his right to exercise it in the town, the senators had also invested him with dictatorial authority by the formula of days of public peril: *Caveat consul*. Finally to the power they had added the means of action; a decree laid the treasury open to him and directed him to raise troops in Italy. He was master then, and as he wished to be, still keeping up appearances, since he had taken nothing by force and held all from the senate. But who does not see that the aristocracy founded the empire? It is sufficient to compare Pompey's powers with those of Augustus to see that they are nearly alike, for the imperial revolution was but the concentration in the hands of a single man for his lifetime of the rights which the Republic yearly divided among several.

While the nobles, through hatred of Cæsar and powerlessness to govern,<sup>2</sup> were sacrificing what they called Roman liberty to an incapable leader, the proconsul, whom they would fain have proscribed, disdaining their servile threats, was carrying on for Rome that wonderful campaign of the year 52 B.C., and held Gaul captive in Alesia.

<sup>1</sup> At the end of five months he associated his father-in-law, Metellus Scipio, with himself.

<sup>2</sup> See (*ad Fam.*, i. 7, 5) Cicero's letter to Lentulus, the governor of Cilicia. He is free to undertake, or not undertake, for the reinstatement of Auletes, the expedition into Egypt, which the senate allow and the Sibylline books forbid; but he will be judged by the issue; *Si cecidisset . . . omnis te et sapienter et fortiter, si aliquid esset offensum, eosdem illos et cupide et temere fecisse dicturos*. Scipio restored to the censors their ancient rights (see p. 249, note 2); they dared not make use of them for fear of the enmity they would arouse, and, adds Dion (xl. 57), "no sensible man any longer requires the censorship."



In order to explain the violence of this hatred it must be recognized that the nobles had very serious reasons for detesting Cæsar; but history should try to discover whether these motives were legitimate. The real question between them was the upholding or the overthrow of the Cornelian legislation, which had taken

everything from the people and given it to the senate. Although many breaches had been made in this aristocratic fortress, some even by Pompey, it still held out and remained standing; the nephew of Marius wished to overthrow it. Without the commission of any illegality, simply by raising the popular party which had been crushed by Sylla, the nobles had been made to tremble for their power, and they trembled still more for their possessions. Cæsar's consular laws, had they been carried into execution, would have dried up the source whence they drew their wealth; in one word, he could ruin them by instigating a plebiscitum authorizing the indemnification of the families despoiled



Marius.<sup>1</sup>

by Sylla, or forcing former generals to restore to the treasury the booty which they had appropriated. The greater part of the fortunes of the oligarchy had been made with gold robbed from the

<sup>1</sup> Campana Museum. A statue undoubtedly contemporaneous with the inscription (Wilmann, 632) made for Marius when Augustus desired to have placed in his Forum the monuments in praise of all Rome's great men.

provinces, like that of Lucullus, or with land taken from the proscribed, like that of Cæsar's most violent opponent, that Domitius who could promise each of his soldiers during the Civil war a farm out of his estates. Hitherto the spoilers had kept their robberies out of reach of attack by the law which forbade the sons of Sylla's victims access to public offices. They had hoped to make the proscription eternal by preventing any dangerous rogatio proposed by sons of proscribed men who should attain the tribuneship. Let Cæsar bring about the restitution of their civic rights and the oligarchy would lose the immense domains acquired by murder.<sup>1</sup> Such were the fears concealed beneath an accusation of coming tyranny, and history, especially in our days, is not obliged to share this angry feeling; such too, is the reason why the senatorial majority would have preferred to let a civil war break out rather than see Cæsar consul a second time: this is the secret of its advances towards Pompey.

The latter owed much to his former colleague, who in 59 B.C. had defended him against the nobles, who in 55 B.C. had loyally contributed to make his present fortune. But when Pompey felt secure of the great position made for him by the Trebonian plebiscitum, when to his superintendence of provisions which gave him Rome and Italy, he had joined the proconsulship of Spain and Africa, which supplied him with provinces and armies, he no longer retained for the proconsul of the Gauls more than a polite consideration, which ceased with Julia's life. In vain did Cæsar propose to consolidate their political, by a double family alliance, Cæsar marrying one of Pompey's daughters and he marrying a grand-niece of Cæsar; Pompey refused, and brought into his house the daughter of a mortal enemy of his former father-in-law.<sup>2</sup> Cæsar's friendship, which he had suffered for ten years, weighed upon his pride, and the renown which had become so great was an annoyance to him. He no longer intended to share with anyone, and we shall see how he made use of his

<sup>1</sup> This was the first act of Cæsar's dictatorship.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar had asked Pompey for the hand of his daughter Pompeia, then the wife of Faustus Sylla, and had offered him that of his great niece Octavia, at that time married to Marcellus. Pompey refused, and married for his fifth wife Cornelia, the widow of the younger Crassus, and daughter of Metellus Scipio.

consular authority to annul the advantages which he had been compelled to obtain for the proconsul of the Gauls in 55 B.C.

First he wished to show that everyone must come to an understanding with him. He proposed fresh laws against corruption, violence, and canvassing,<sup>1</sup> giving them a retrospective effect of twenty years. The proconsul was hurt at this, for with these laws a partisan of the nobles might summon him before judges easy to corrupt or intimidate. Cato himself thought the arrangement iniquitous. Caesar's friends protested, but Pompey would not listen to them. In order to rid himself of Milo and his band he allowed proceedings to be taken against the murderer of Clodius. Cicero had long desired this murder, and Cato dared to say in full senate that Milo had acted as a good citizen, so did these unhappy times confuse the most upright consciences.<sup>2</sup> But the people were too much irritated for justice not to be done. The soldiers with whom Pompey surrounded the tribunal frightened the defender, who pleaded badly;<sup>3</sup> the accused went into exile at Marseilles. When he received the oration, *pro Milone*, wisely recomposed by Cicero in the silence of his study; "If he had spoken as he can write," said the epicurean, "I should not be eating such good fish to-day." The skilful orator had had more courage when, at the time of the closer union between the triumvirs, it had been necessary to defend their friends. He had not hesitated to deny his whole life, his convictions, his old grudges, by taking up the cause of a Vatinius and a Gabinius, men of the worst character, or of many others of whom he said in

<sup>1</sup> The jury were sometimes bewildered and distracted by the numerous advocates who took up a case; he settled how many each side could have, only allowed two hours for the accusation, three for the defence, and forbade the eulogies which persons of influence came and made on behalf of the accused. The latter and the accuser had each the right of challenging five jurymen (judices). A citizen condemned for canvassing obtained remission of his penalty by denouncing either two other citizens guilty of a crime less than, or equal to his own, or a single one guilty of a greater crime. (Dion., xl. 52 and 55; Cf. Plut., *Cato*, 48; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 23-24.) "There was a great number of victims condemned," says Caesar (*Bell. civ.*, iii. 1), "by judges other than those who had heard the case."

<sup>2</sup> Read Cicero's speech against Piso and so many others, listen to the deadly insults exchanged in the senate, in the Forum, in the courts of justice, and it will be seen that the political arena bore a singular resemblance to that of the circus. The most inoffensive of these politicians, Cicero, demanded that Clodius should be slain, and later on, before Pharsalus, he thought that the assassination of Caesar would greatly simplify matters.

<sup>3</sup> At a certain moment Pompey caused the crowd to be charged, and some were wounded and even killed. (Dion., xl. 53.)

secret; "May I die if I know how to defend them." In spite of his efforts to explain this conduct he felt the indignity and tried to forget himself in literary labours, which were powerless to console him.<sup>1</sup>

Clodius being dead, Milo in exile, and their bands dispersed, calm was restored, so easy was it for a man having the desire to maintain order to keep peace in the city.<sup>2</sup> But Pompey, though capable of energetic action, was incapable of sustaining it long, because in politics he acted at random, without any fixed principle or plan of conduct, trusting, like a true Roman, to the fortune of the day, that is to say, to circumstances; to-day with Sylla, to-morrow with Cæsar, restorer of the popular rights, then defender of the oligarchy. He did not even consider himself bound by the laws he had made.<sup>3</sup> He had forbidden the *enlogium* pronounced at tribunals by the powerful friends of the accused, but when Metellus Scipio, his father-in-law, was summoned before the court he came and defended him, that is to say, ordered his acquittal;<sup>4</sup> for the same crime Plautius Hypsæus was condemned. He had got a decree passed that magistrates should not have a province until five years after they left office; the measure was an



Coin of the Plautian Family.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See his long letter to Lentulus. (*ad Fam.*, i. 9.)

<sup>2</sup> The censorship even recovered its rights. The consul Metellus Scipio caused to be restored to them their ancient privilege of erasing from the senatorial album all those who should appear to them unworthy of remaining in the senate. We have just seen (p. 245, note 2) that they used this power very timidly. A law of Clodius had only allowed the censors to exclude those senators who had undergone a condemnation.

<sup>3</sup> *Suaron legum auctor idem ac subversor.* (*Tac., Ann.*, iii. 28.)

<sup>4</sup> Aurora with outspread wings, driving four horses.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch (*Pomp.*, 55) even says that he had summoned the 360 jurymen to his house and exacted from them an acquittal. To save Plancus, who was accused of canvassing, he again sent the judges a petition and a memoir, which was a eulogy of the accused. (*Dion.* xl. 55.) The body of jurymen was never very numerous at Rome, 450 according to the *lex Serrilia*; all the senators according to the *lex Cornelia*, that is to say from 500 to 600; 360 if we must accept the passage from Plutarch quoted above; but the juries were far more numerous than ours for each trial, according to the nature of the crime, and consequently according to the *questio* which was to judge. Cicero speaks of thirty-two after the challenges of both parties (*pro Cluentio*, 27), of fifty (*ad Att.*, iv. 15), of fifty-six (*ib.*, i. 16), of seventy (iv. 16), of seventy-five (*in Pison.*, 40); in the trials of Milo and Saufeius they were fifty-one. (*Ascon.*, pp. 53 and 54, Orelli ed.) The reason of this difference was that it seemed desirable to take the judges from the higher ranks of society, in order to obtain enlightened men, and to have many of them for each case, that it might be more difficult to bribe a majority of them. Urban *questores* divided the juries by lot among the different *questiones perpetue*.



excellent one ; he annulled it by demanding that his own proconsular powers should be prolonged for five years, with the right of taking 1,000 talents from the treasury yearly.<sup>1</sup> He had settled by the law *de jure magistratuum* that none might canvass an office while absent from Rome, and almost immediately he introduced an exception which did away with it.

These contradictions prove that Rome would not have found in Pompey the man of resolution and firmness whom she needed ; but the nobles did not trouble themselves about that. Blinded by their hatred, they helped the consul to entangle Cæsar in a network of legislative arrangements which should reduce the proconsul of the Gauls to a state of impotence. The new judiciary law allowed the incrimination at any moment of all his acts, and Milo's trial had just shown what Pompey understood by the liberty of tribunals. The prohibition to canvass a magistracy while absent obliged him, if he wished to be consul a second time, to abandon his provinces and submit to the discretion of his enemies. Should he escape the judges, that is to say, exile, and succeed in obtaining from the people the consular fasces, the obligation to wait five years after quitting office for a provincial governorship would leave him disarmed for those five years in face of Pompey, who was master until 46 B.C. of the treasury and of large military forces.

The nobles would not at any cost allow him to attain a second consulship. The first had revealed a plan of reforms which would certainly be resumed and developed, and they thought their new ally had just decided upon a combination of measures which would avert this danger. But in this well-conducted legislative campaign the clever folk of the senate had taken everything into calculation save the amount of Cæsar's resignation to such open envy and such undisguised threats. Against the judiciary law Cæsar had contented himself with the protests of his friends, not to expose himself to the brunt of Roman justice. As regards the arrangement which placed an interval of five years between the exercise of a great office and the enjoyment of the proconsulship, he doubtless knew that what had been done by one consul could be undone by another. A consulship was necessary to him therefore, in order

<sup>1</sup> Dion., xl. 56 ; Plut., *Pomp.*, 55.

to break through the meshes so artfully woven by his ally of yesterday and foe of to-day, and this consulship he must be able to canvass from the depths of his provinces, for he was lost if he reappeared in the city for a single day without being protected by the *imperium*.<sup>1</sup> He required that the law touching absence should be modified, and he must have done it in such a manner, that Pompey, who was not in a position to break with him, was compelled to consent. A refusal would probably have led to the outbreak of the Civil war three years earlier. Cicero intervened. He repaired to Ravenna at Pompey's request, and on his return to Rome he made representations to his friend Cælius, who was then invested with the tribunitian power, with the object of getting the conditions accepted which he brought back with him.<sup>2</sup> Pompey himself urged the other tribunes to instigate a law consecrating the right claimed by Cæsar. The plebiscitum was voted, and it must have been so unanimously, since the people, represented by their ten tribunes, accepted it, and the senatorial party, drawn on in spite of themselves by Cicero and Pompey, submitted to it.<sup>3</sup> On the brazen table whereon the consular law against the absent was already graven, Pompey added the exception<sup>4</sup> which had just been made in Cæsar's favour. After the solemnity of this last vote he could no longer hope to find juriconsults to call to mind that, according to the Twelve Tables, the *privilegium* was void and of no effect. He had threatened and had gone back

<sup>1</sup> As long as the magistrate was in office no accusation could be brought against him: now a man who intended canvassing the consulship must present himself at Rome before the consular comitia, that is say, more than six months before entering office, and get his name inscribed on the list of candidates. Cæsar then, without the exception he asked for, would have remained six months at Rome as a private individual, and it would not have taken six days for the conqueror of the Gauls to have been brought to trial by Cato or some other member of the oligarchy, and very likely condemned to exile if not worse].

<sup>2</sup> . . . *Ut illi (Cæsari) hoc liceret adjuri, rogatus ab ipso Ravennæ de Cælio tribuno plebis, ab ipso autem? Etiam a Cincio nostro [Pompeio].* (*ad Att.*, vii. 1, and cf. *ad Fam.*, vi. 6.)

<sup>3</sup> *Lex lata est, ut ratio absentis Cæsaris in petitione consulatus haberetur* (Livy, *Epit.*, cvii.; he repeats it in *Epit.*, cviii.). The law was presented by the two tribunes (Cic., *ad Att.*, viii. 3), which leads to the supposition that it was voted unanimously. In his letter to Atticus (viii. 3), Cicero again says; "It was Pompey who desired that the ten tribunes should propose the plebiscitum . . . , he too, who confirmed it by a law of his own kind." Suetonius (*Julius Cæsar*, 26, 28) and Appian (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 25) speak in the same way. Pompey, the senate, and the people had agreed then, to let Cæsar canvass the consulship in his absence. By the treaty of Misenum, in 39, the same permission was granted to Sextus Pompey.

<sup>4</sup> Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 28; Dion., xl. 56; Cic., *ad Att.*, viii. 3.

of his threat, a double and dangerous game, which revealed his uncertain character.

Cæsar had gained his cause not by force, but by a law, for by granting him the benefit of absence they ensured him all the guarantees required by his ambition and for his safety. The plebiscitum, in fact, tacitly recognized his right to remain at the head of his army till he could legally canvass for the consulship, that is to say, till the middle of 49 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Cicero, who had again become his enemy, was forced to proclaim this result. "By giving him the benefit of absence they have given him the right to keep his army till the consular comitia."<sup>2</sup>

All this was very unrepblican; but was there then a Republic at Rome? Who could say where the real right lay? Money and intimidation having long decided the votes, any law could be repealed, any election annulled for some informality, corruption, or violence, whatever faction the chosen candidate or author of the law might belong to. The Republic was dead since Rome no longer had free comitia—it may be said since the murder of the Gracchi.

#### V.—EFFORTS OF THE OLIGARCHY TO DEPRIVE CÆSAR OF HIS POWERS.

Pompey's second consulship in 55 had been barren; the dictatorship which had just been granted him, in 52, to re-establish the authority of the senate and destroy that of Cæsar, had not raised the one and had consolidated the other. The oligarchy had ill chosen the leader in whom they hoped to find a new Sylla. Cato was more resolute, but even his friends mistrusted the man of narrow and violent mind, whose death is his only claim to live in the memory of posterity. Notwithstanding his name and his zeal for the faction of the nobles, they never allowed him to rise higher than the prætorship. In this year, 52, he had solicited the consulship, and they had chosen in preference to him one Marcellus,

<sup>1</sup> According to a law of Sylla an interval of ten years must elapse between two consulships. Pompey had just broken this law, but Cæsar observed it, first because he needed the time to complete his work in Gaul, and secondly because he would not give his adversaries the right to erase his name from the list of candidates for illegality.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Att.*, vii. 7.

who was to manage his office in favour of Pompey and his party. The new consul was one of those nobles who were enraged at hearing no name but Cæsar's resound in Rome for the last eight years. They had long been reduced to deploring his victories in secret; believing themselves now secure of the support of the conqueror of Asia, they ceased to restrain themselves when they ceased to fear. Marcellus began the attack; he directly challenged the proconsul of the Gauls in order to induce him to commit some imprudence which should justify an extreme measure. Cæsar had settled at Novum Comum, in Transalpine Gaul, 5,000 colonists possessing the *jus Latii*. This right, which gave the magistrates of Latin towns the *jus civitatis* at the expiration of their office, exempted them from corporal punishments. Marcellus, to show in what esteem he held the proconsul's acts, had an ædile or *duumvir* of Novum Comum beaten with rods, and as the man invoked the rights which he held from Cæsar; "Blows are the mark of the foreigner," said the consul; "go and show to him who protects thee thy lacerated back, that he may see how I treat the citizens whom he has made."<sup>1</sup> A few days later he resolutely proposed in the senate to recall Cæsar.

But Pompey still hesitated, and employed the time in visiting his villas. While his rival was finishing his long war in this campaign and getting all his forces at his free disposal, he went near Tarentum to nurse his health and philosophize with Cicero, who found him animated with the best and most patriotic intentions. He thought of going still further away, into Spain. Was this a ruse to deceive the credulous *consularis* and have his disinterestedness as highly celebrated as his glory? Probably so, but in this double game he lost the advantage which a firm decision and bold offensive would have given him.<sup>2</sup> By remaining inactive and silent

<sup>1</sup> Appian (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 26) and Plutarch (*Cæsar*, 29) say that he was a magistrate, Suetonius (*Julius Cæsar*, 28) that Comum even had the *jus civitatis*; Cicero (*ad Att.*, v. 11) v. 11) denies it; Marcellus *fade in Comensi*; *etsi ille magistratum non gesserit, erat tamen Transpadanus*. The authority of Cicero overrides that of Appian and still more that of Plutarch. But he may have been ill-informed of the antecedents of this Transpadan, who was only secured against the rods if he had held a magistracy. (See vol. ii. p. 470, note 3.) The *jus Latii* had been given to the Transpadani by a *Pompeian law* in 89 B.C., at the same time as the *jus civitatis* was granted to peninsular Italy.

<sup>2</sup> [This was evidently the bold and right policy. But Pompey evidently felt in the East an authority he had nowhere else.—*Ed.*]



he allowed the senate to come forward and seize the leading part, so that, at the time of the explosion, the question lay not between him and Cæsar, but between Cæsar and the aristocracy, and Pompey was only their general. It could not be otherwise; Pompey, representing no principle, was not Cæsar's real adversary, and since the senate alone had retained any authority in the State, it was they who must fight the last battle for the Republic.

The elections for the year 50 were no longer in favour of Pompey: the consuls chosen, Æm. Paullus and one C. Claudius Marcellus, were zealous partizans of the senate. In the other offices candidates of the same opinions triumphed. The nomination of the younger Curio to the tribuneship appeared to be another victory for Cæsar's foes. "This Curio was a bold man, lavish of his own fortune and honour, as well as of those of others; ingenious in doing ill, skilful in speaking well, but only to the misfortune of the State."<sup>1</sup> Overwhelmed with debts, "he had nothing," says Pliny, "to allege as his income but the hopes which he founded upon the discord among the leaders."<sup>2</sup> Cæsar, who knew how to make use of ruined men, secretly bought over the future tribune *ingenti mercede*; Appian says for more than 1,500 talents, which is a very large sum. A magistrate cannot be bought publicly like a property. Cicero, who was very curious about these sales, knows nothing about this one, and Velleius doubts it; there is no need to doubt anything but the amount.

The aristocracy being masters of all the points of vantage in the city, were anxious to hasten on the struggle. For a time they thought that the Bellovaci had rid them of Cæsar. In May, 51 B.C., it was whispered that he had lost his cavalry, that the seventh legion was beaten, and he himself cut off from his troops and surrounded.<sup>3</sup> When the truth was known it only made them more anxious to get Pompey to declare himself openly.

At one of the sittings of the senate (12th of July, 51 B.C.)

<sup>1</sup> Vell. Patere., ii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ut qui nihil in censu habuerit præter discordiam principum.* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi. 24, 120.)

<sup>3</sup> Cælius to Cicero. (*ad Fam.*, viii. 1.)

<sup>4</sup> Cælius to Cicero. (*ad Fam.*, viii. 4.)

he was asked about a legion which he had lent to Cæsar;<sup>1</sup> "It is in Gaul," he replied, and promised to recall it. But when they reached the principal object of the deliberation, the ruling of the provinces, he left Rome in order to avoid declaring himself either for Cæsar's recall or for keeping him in his proconsulship. But to encourage his new friends to proceed without him, he had let fall these words in the midst of the debate; "Every man owes obedience to the senate." M. Marcellus did in fact, resume the matter, notwithstanding Pompey's absence; but either because the wise counsel of Sulpicius, the other consul, who saw the storm gathering,<sup>1</sup> had moderated the blind ardour of the nobles, or because Cæsar had claimed from the senators whom he had bribed some return for his largesses, each time the deliberation began the senate found there was no house, and on the 30th of September the question was adjourned till the 1st of March in the following year.

When the nobles granted the proconsul this imprudent truce, which allowed him to complete his work in Gaul and prepare for the Civil war, they had troops in Italy. The army raised by Pompey to re-establish order in the city had not been disbanded. Being stationed at Ariminum, on the frontier of Cæsar's government, it could in a few marches close the passes of the Alps against him. But great assemblies do not know the value of time; like the people of Athens who were listening to their orators when Philip was passing Thermopyke, the senate was still engaged in deliberation when Cæsar crossed the Rubicon.

M. Marcellus however, who saw his consular year expiring without fulfilling the wishes of the oligarchy, wished to impose it upon his successors. The resolution of the 30th of September was in these terms; "The consuls for the next year shall bring forward in the senate the question of replacing Cæsar at the session of the 1st of March [50]; till this question be settled the senate shall meet every day of the comitia; six of the senators who are judges

<sup>1</sup> *Tanquam ex aliqua specula prosperi tempestatem futuram, . . . monente et denuntiante te.* (Cic., *ad Fam.*, iv. 3.) Sulpicius, says Dion (xl. 59), saw that the people were not willing to depose before the lawful time a magistrate who had done no wrong. In Dion's opinion Cæsar's powers ended in 50 B.C. But Hirtius (*de Bell. Gall.*, viii. 53) says that Marcellus had put the question to the vote, *contra legem Pompei et Crassi et ante tempus.* Suetonius (*Julius Cæsar*, 21) speaks to the same effect; *ut ei ante tempus succederetur.*

in the courts of justice shall be required to leave them in order to repair to the Curia; none shall be allowed to oppose it; those who attempt to do so shall be declared public enemies; the senate shall take into consideration the services of the soldiers in the army of Gaul and restore to civil life the veterans who have a right to retirement and those who have valid reasons for obtaining it.”<sup>1</sup> The threat was clear: to deprive Cæsar of his command and disorganize his army; to render the veto of the tribunes worthless beforehand; and to place those who attempted to avail themselves of it in danger of capital punishment. Three tribunes resisted this proposal, and the colleague of Marcellus opposed it; but the senatorial majority adopted it. This revolutionary decision, into which all kinds of illegalities were crowded, was a regular declaration of war. The senate had had the courage to take it because they relied upon Pompey, who had come forward more that day than he had ever before done. “If Cæsar refuse to obey the decree,” he had said, “or let one of his partisans offer any obstruction to it,—it is all the same thing.” “But if he asserts that he is consul and retains his army?” they asked. “But if my son raises a stick against me?” he replied. Pompey was coming back to the Syllan system—everything by and for the senate.<sup>2</sup> Though he did not demand the suppression of the tribunitian veto, which he had re-established, he at least treated it as a piece of old-fashioned lumber; the problem becomes clearly defined, as is due on the eve of great solutions.

Cæsar made no reply to these challenges. He had seen long and clearly that they wished to compel him to lay aside the *paludamentum* before assuming the consular toga in order that they might cancel his acts and rid themselves by exile of the popular leader and his threatening reforms.<sup>3</sup> But the difficulty was to make him commit this imprudence. The defections which they tried to cause around him by offering leave to his soldiers did not succeed. His ten legions, whose pay he had doubled<sup>4</sup> and whom

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *ad Fam.*, viii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Dion, xl. 60; Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 30; *Cumque vulgo fore prædicarent, ut si privatus redisset Milonis exemplo, circumpositis armatis, causam apud iudices diceret.*

<sup>3</sup> Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 26. In the time of Polybius (vi. 39), the pay for a foot-soldier was  $5\frac{1}{3}$  *ases* a day, or 1,920 *ases* a year, *i.e.*, 120 denarii; Cæsar raised it to 225 denarii, at which



he maintained in a great measure at his own expense, were devoted to him as never army had been to its leader. A centurion had once been heard to say at the doors of the senate, placing his



Aricia (la Riccia).<sup>1</sup>

hand on the hilt of his sword; "What you refuse Cæsar, this will procure him."<sup>2</sup> So he let his foes deliberate, decree, and threaten in words; he even passed that winter in the heart of Gaul, at

amount it remained until Domitian. It should be remarked that, in the year 50, 225 denarii would not be, as a means of exchange, worth more than 120 a century earlier. The increase decided upon by Cæsar, which was formerly regarded as a means of bribing his army, was therefore, a measure rendered necessary by the increased price of everything, produced by enormous influx of precious metals into Rome.

<sup>1</sup> From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., *Pomp.*, 62. The same saying is attributed to one of the centurions of Octavius. Both are probably unauthentic.



*Nemetocenna* (Arras), and his agents at Rome seemed to be only occupied in building for him a delightful villa near the grove of Diana at Aricia. So much did men deceive themselves as to his resources that Atticus thought to embarrass him by claiming an old debt of fifty-eight talents. But at this very moment Cæsar was just completing the payment of Curio's enormous debts and purchasing the defection of the consul Paullus at the price of 1,500 talents,<sup>1</sup> which he sent him in the form of a loan to complete his basilica. Lastly, by a clever move, he imposed silence upon Cicero. The latter was then just returning with the title of *imperator* from his government of Cilicia, where he had



Aemilian  
Basilica.<sup>2</sup>

done himself honour far more by his irreproachable conduct than by equivocal successes over the poor mountaineers. None the less he demanded the triumph. On Cato's motion the senate refused. At the moment when the orator's former friends inflicted this cruel wound on his vanity, he received from the governor

of Gaul a letter full of admiration and a promise that, if Cæsar were consul, he would obtain the passing of the demand. This bait reduced the vain Cicero to neutrality, and Cæsar wanted nothing more.

On the 1st of March, 50 B.C., the deliberation commenced. The proconsul's powers, which had been extended for five years by the *lex Licinia-Pompeia*, did not end till 49, but the nobles were unwilling to wait so long, and the consul C. Marcellus put to the vote his recall on the 13th of November in the present year, which would have given his accusers seven months, far more than was necessary to obtain a condemnation. The majority were about to adopt this motion, notwithstanding the silence of the other consul, when Curio rose and praised the wisdom of Marcellus, but added that justice and the public interest required that the same measure should be applied to Pompey. "We must make

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *ad Att.*, vi. 1; Val. Max., ix. 1; Plut., *Pomp.*, 62. This sum again is a very large one, and I think it must also be reduced. Cæsar's exchequer was supplied by the tax upon the Gauls, which was a light one, by booty, which was not equal in value to that which he would have gained in the rich provinces of Asia, and above all, by the sale of captives, which was very productive, but yet not sufficiently so to enable Cæsar to spend in the same year, and for only two men, from £640,000 to £720,000.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of the gens *Æmilia*.

an end," said he, "of exceptional powers, and return to the constitution, which does not allow them." If they refused he would oppose his veto. This was a good move. Amid the factions Curio alone seemed jealous for the Republic. "When he left the senate the people scattered flowers in his path to honour the courageous man who accepted this difficult struggle;"<sup>1</sup> the nobles dared not brave his opposition.

At length however, Cæsar had settled everything in Gaul. In the summer of the year 50 he crossed the Alps on the pretext of commending to the municipia and colonies on the banks of the Po the candidature of his quæstor Marc Antony<sup>2</sup> for the augurate, but really in order to get nearer Rome and obtain from the Cisalpines a demonstration which should re-echo even in the senate. Everywhere indeed, the inhabitants went out to meet him, and sacrifices and feasts celebrated his arrival in each city. During this triumphal march into Italy his legions assembled in the territory of the Treviri; he returned into Gaul to review them. No doubt tacit promises were exchanged at this ceremony between the leader and his soldiers; they knew of the designs formed against their general, and even had there been a lack of affection for him, their interest would have warned them that they must share his misfortunes or his prosperity. If Cæsar were deprived of office and condemned, who would pay them for their services? Would he who, but for Cæsar, could not have got a foot of land given to his legions in the East?

About this time Pompey fell ill at Naples.<sup>3</sup> When he recovered the inhabitants returned solemn thanksgivings to the gods; from Naples this movement spread to the neighbouring cities; Puteoli was wreathed with flowers, and throughout Campania feasts were held in honour of his recovery. "Campania," says Juvenal, "had given him a wholesome fever." "Had he died

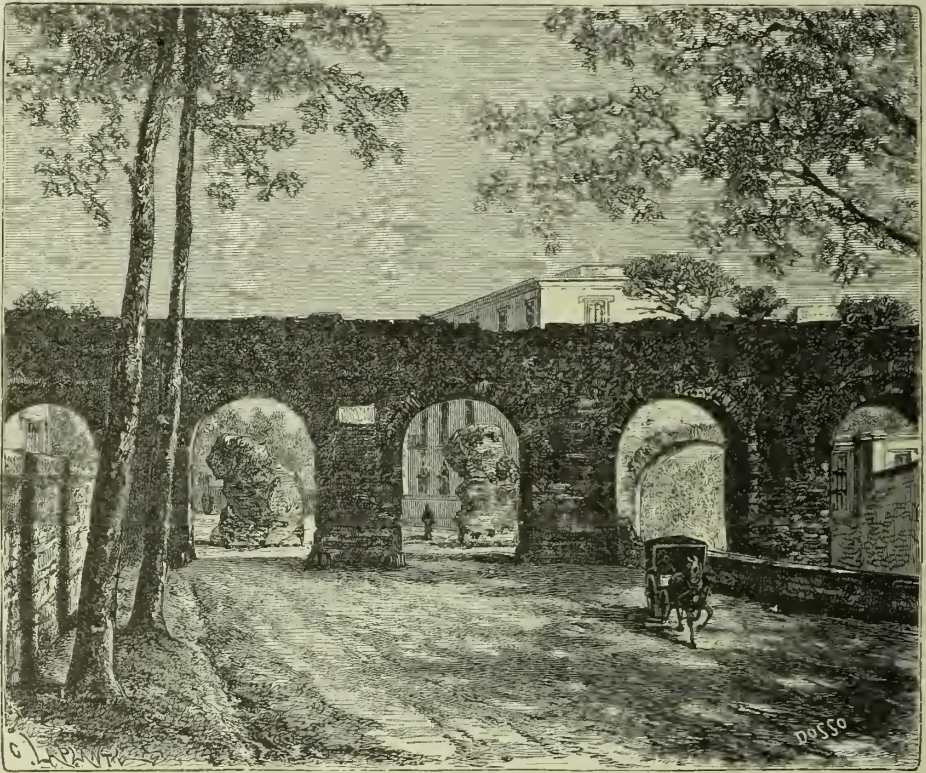
<sup>1</sup> Cic., *ad Fam.*, viii. 11 and 13. Καὶ παρέπεμψαν αὐτὸν ἀνθοβολοῦντες, ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν μεγάλου καὶ δυσχεροῦς ἀγῶνος. (App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 27.) *Iustissimus quisque et a Cæsare et a Pompeio cellet dimitti exercitus.* (Vell. Patere., ii. 48.)

<sup>2</sup> The death of Hortensius had just left a vacant place in the college, and Antony was nominated before Cæsar's arrival in Cisalpine Gaul.

<sup>3</sup> This, it appears, often happened to him, for Cicero writes to Atticus (viii. 2); *In unius hominis quotannis periculose ægrotantis anima positas omnis nostras spes habemus.* (Juv., *Sat.*, x. 283-6, and Cic., *Tusc.*, i. 35.)

then," adds Cicero, "he would have died in full glory and prosperity." Pompey let himself be dazzled by these commonplace acclamations, which have so often deceived men in high position, and his confidence increased.

In order to revive the debate about Cæsar and play the part of the disinterested citizen, he one day offered the senate to lay down his powers, well assured that they would not accept the offer. When Curio urged him to carry out this promise he found



Roman Ruin at Naples (the Ponte Rossi).<sup>1</sup>

pretexts for delaying; "Let Cæsar begin it," said he; "I will follow his example." The result of this sitting to which he had come with such fine proposals was the despatch of an order to his rival to place two legions at the disposal of the senate. The decree said, it is true, that each of the two proconsuls should furnish one legion for Syria, where an invasion of the Parthians

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph by Parker, No. 2141, which shows the brick construction, *opus latericium*.



was threatening, but Pompey had lent one to Cæsar, and he demanded it back again. The proconsul of Gaul gave them both. Before their departure he distributed 250 denarii to each soldier; they were so many friends whom he would find in the opposite camp. Of course they were not sent to Asia; the consul Metellus stationed them at Capua, though he suspected their fidelity.

This prompt obedience caused great astonishment. They thought the explanation was to be found in what Appius Claudius, who had brought the two legions from Cisalpine Gaul, told of the temper of the whole army.<sup>1</sup> "Cæsar's soldiers," said he, "are discontented and weary; they only long for rest and peace," as if a soldier serving under a glorious leader ever had enough of war. Appius was believed, and one more illusion lulled Pompey to sleep.

The struggle however, was becoming imminent. A clear-sighted observer who was at Rome at the time wrote to Cicero; "War is inevitable, and this is the ground of it. Pompey cannot suffer Cæsar to be consul before leaving his legions and his provinces, and Cæsar is persuaded that there is no safety for him but in retaining his army."<sup>2</sup> But in Italy there were no preparations, no measures of defence; and when they asked Pompey what force would stop the enemy if the Cæsarians crossed the mountains, he replied, with memories of his youth before him; "In whatsoever spot in Italy I stamp upon the ground, legions will rise." The consuls shared his security, and Marcellus, who was the most strongly opposed to Cæsar, was quite resolved to have it out. On which side was, I will not say right, but strict legality?

Cæsar had three laws in his favour:—

1. The Vatinian plebiscitum and the senatus-consultum of the year 59, which had given him the governorship of the two Gauls for five years.

2. The consular law, *Licinia-Pompeia*, which in 55 had renewed his proconsulship for an equal length of time.

<sup>1</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 30. This Appius was the nephew of a censor then in office, and who amidst such affairs amused himself by proscribing pictures and statues, as another magistrate turned informer in the name of the *lex Scantinia de pudicitia*. Accordingly the witty and malicious Cælius writes to Cicero; *Curre, per deos atque homines! et quam primum hæc risum veni.* (*ad Fam.*, viii. 14.)

<sup>2</sup> Cælius, *ad Fam.*, viii. 14.



3. The plebiscitum of the ten tribunes in the year 52, which authorized him to canvass a second consulship in his absence.<sup>1</sup>

The two first of these laws secured him ten years of proconsulship, 58—49; the third, in which it is easy to see an indirect confirmation of the two former, conferred upon him the right to retain his provinces and his army till the time when he could legally demand a new consulship. As he was very careful not to let his foes find any argument of right against him, he had never attempted to canvass the consular fasces before the middle of the year 49, because a *Cornelian law*, which Pompey had overridden, but which everyone else observed, required that a man could not hold a second consulship for an interval of ten years.

The senate had not raised the question of the duration of Cæsar's rights so long as union had existed among the triumvirs; in 56 the majority still admitted that the proconsulship of the Gauls only ended in 54.<sup>2</sup>

But when the leaders had secured Pompey by giving him a kind of dictatorship, they asserted that the *lex Vatinia*, which had been carried in 59, marked the starting point of Cæsar's government; consequently, according to the principle of law that a year begun is considered as ended, *annus cæptus pro pleno habetur*,<sup>3</sup> the decennial proconsulship ended in 50, a theory impossible to defend, since, if this law had made Cæsar proconsul in the year 59, he would have held the military *imperium* at Rome during his consulship, which was contrary to the laws, a theory moreover, maintained with variations of date, and in Cicero with contradictory arguments, which prove that hatred against Cæsar alone dictated the opinion of his adversaries. Pompey, for example, fixes the term of Cæsar's powers on the 1st of March, 50, then on the 13th of November in the same year.<sup>4</sup>

Thus at Rome the nobles, since their reconciliation with Pompey, thought that the powers of the proconsul expired in 50. He, on the contrary, maintained that the proconsular year dated

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* p. 250 and 251.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> Dig., l. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cic., *de Prov. cons.*, 15; *ad Att.*, vii. 9; *ad Fam.*, viii. 8, 9, and 11; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 26 and 28; Dion, xl. 59.

from the day when the proconsul entered his provinces, and common sense, as well as the letter of the law, leads us to accept this opinion. Now, he had only crossed the frontier of Cisalpine Gaul at the end of March, 58; he ought not therefore, to leave it till the end of 49, and of this there was no doubt in his army or throughout Gaul, where, towards the close of the military operations of 51, it was said that only one more summer remained for him to pass beyond the Alps,<sup>1</sup> that of 50. The arrangements to be made for his candidature obliged him indeed, not to quit Cisalpine Gaul, that is to say, the neighbourhood of Rome, in the early part of 49, and he did not claim to retain his command beyond that date. Accordingly, when the senatus-consultum of the 7th of January, 49, declared him a public enemy unless he immediately quitted his provinces, he replied that they were illegally depriving him of six months *imperium*.

Indeed, all the subtle and wise calculations made on this score fell before the perfectly plain law which allowed Cæsar to canvass the consulship although absent.<sup>2</sup> Cicero acknowledges that in granting him this privilege, they had by that very fact authorized him to retain his army until the consular comitia of July, 49; *quum id datum, illud una datum*. The whole question lies in these six words, or rather, these six words decide it. Accordingly, when the consul Marcellus opened the discussion in the senate upon the redistribution of the provinces, he abandoned the theory that Cæsar's powers had expired, and by what was perhaps a clever manœuvre, but certainly not a very honourable one, he demanded that Cæsar should be obliged to come to Rome to solicit the consulship. But from the law of 52 he left out the essential part, Cæsar's right to canvass *whilst absent*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hirtius, *de Bell. Gall.*, viii. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Att.*, vii. 7; and above, p. 266, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Marcellus certainly knew the text of the law of 52, but it may be that many did not know it. The public archives at Rome were not well organized. The laws and senatus-consulta were preserved in the *ædium* and confided to the keeping of the scribes, the quaestors, and the ædiles. It was necessary to apply to them to obtain a knowledge of the text of the laws and to the *librarii* to obtain a copy. Accordingly Cicero said (*de Leg.*, iii. 20); *Legum custodiam nullam habemus, itaque eæ leges sunt quas apparitores nostri volunt. A librariis petimus, publicis litteris consignatam memoriam nullam habemus*. In the *Verrine Orations* (iii. 79) he says again; *Quid mirabimur turpis aliquos ibi esse, quo cuius pretio licet pervenire?* Dion Cassius bears witness to the same "errors and confusions" (liv. 36). These *librarii* or

What gave the consul courage to do this was the fact that at Rome, Cæsar's position was looked upon as very critical. It was known that he had only 5,000 men in Cisalpine Gaul, and that the eight other legions were in the depths of Gaul, where it was hoped that, at the first order to retire, a general insurrection would break out, which would render it necessary to leave them beyond the Alps. If Cæsar, abandoning the conquest which was



Roman Ruins at Capua.<sup>1</sup>

the cause of his glory, called all his troops round him, the seven Pompeian legions in Spain would enter Gaul and follow the Cæsarians into Italy, where Pompey, with his fresh levies and the two legions from Capua, would place Cæsar between two dangers, from which he could not escape. Then too, they worked upon his army; promises of defection were made, and

notaries were freedmen; they purchased their office and might well sell their services, that is to say, incorrect copies.

<sup>1</sup> Engraving taken from the *Æneid* of the Duchess of Devonshire.



Pompey's military reputation dispelled all fear: their confidence was unlimited.

To the question of Marcellus; "Should a successor be sent to the proconsul of the Gauls?" the majority replied in the affirmative. "Should Pompey's powers be taken from him?" A feeble minority declared themselves for the motion. But Curio in the name of public interest changed these questions into the following; "Should the generals abdicate at the same time?" and 370 voices against twenty-two supported the proposal, a proof that though the senatorial majority preferred Pompey to Cæsar, they preferred the Republic to Pompey. Outside, the most vehement applause greeted the courageous tribune; Curio had found the true solution to this memorable conflict, one which would preserve peace and did not compromise the future. Had Cæsar returned to Rome without his army, but with his glory, he would still have had over the disarmed Pompey the ascendancy of genius, and an influence in the State which would have allowed him to lead the government gently into the right path. But the nobles desired Cæsar's ruin, and they knew that if the two rivals abdicated, Cæsar, even when disarmed, would still be formidable to them. They could not therefore, accept any measure which dealt alike with both proconsuls, and Pompey would have none of it.<sup>1</sup> Marcellus broke up the meeting, crying; "You carry the day! You will have Cæsar for a master."

A few days later, at the beginning of December, a report spread that the army of Gaul was crossing the Alps; Marcellus proposed to call up the two legions from Capua; Curio maintained, as was perfectly true, that no movement of the troops had taken place. Then Marcellus said; "Since I am prevented from deliberating with the supreme council upon the dangers of the State, I alone will provide against them;" and passing through the city, accompanied by Lentulus, the consul-elect, and some senators of the party,<sup>2</sup> he repaired to Pompey, handed him his

<sup>1</sup> Pompey was even unwilling that Cæsar should be able to become consul after having quitted his army; a long conversation with him persuaded Cicero that he desired war, that he might not be obliged to confine himself to his government of Spain. (*ad Att.*, vii. 8). "Cæsar made the greatest efforts to maintain peace," says Velleius Paterculus, too (ii. 49), "but Pompey's friends rejected all his offers."

<sup>2</sup> Dion., xl. 66.



sword, and ordered him to assume for the defence of the Republic the command of all the troops stationed in Italy. Pompey accepted, but true to the last to his hypoeritical moderation, he added; "If no better expedient can be found."

The expedient indeed, was a detestable one, for the consul substituted himself for senate and people; of his own authority he invested Pompey with the dictatorship, trampling upon the *senatus-consulta* as well as *plebiscita*. It was impossible to violate the constitution more openly, and thus it was a senatorial minority that first began the call to arms and the revolution. Curio treated this unheard-of<sup>1</sup> proceeding as it deserved and opposed the raising of troops. But his office was drawing to a close, and the nobles who had at length entered upon the policy of violence no longer thought of allowing themselves to be stopped by a tribune. Before the 10th of December, 50 B.C., he fled to Cæsar, who, thanks to him, now appeared to be a victim of Pompey and the oligarchical faction. Two other partizans of the proconsul however, Cassius Longinus and his former quaestor, Mare Antony, were about to take their seat on the tribune's bench. Cæsar was too well aware of the power of this office not to take care always to get some of his own party elected to it.

He was then at Ravenna with the thirteenth legion, 5,000 foot and 300 horse. Curio urged him to attack. In order still to act under cover of the legal appearances which his foe had just cast aside, he sent word to the senate that he consented to retain, until his election to the consulship, only Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria, with one legion. If this proposal were rejected, he still offered to lay down his command, provided Pompey would yield up his, adding that, in case these conditions were not accepted, he would be obliged to come to Rome himself to avenge his wrongs and those of the country.<sup>2</sup> Curio carried this letter, and on the

<sup>1</sup> This is the expression of which Dion makes use (xl. 66), though he is not favourable to Cæsar; he adds that Pompey, eager to have soldiers, did not trouble himself either from whose hands he received them or by what means they reached him.

<sup>2</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 32. Plutarch (*Pomp.*, 59) says that Cicero proposed to leave Cæsar Illyria, with two legions, that he might await his second consulship, a fresh proof that the orator fully believed in Cæsar's right to canvass the consulship while absent. On Pompey's refusal, Cæsar's friends consented also to the disbanding of one of the two legions, but Lentulus and Cato obtained the rejection of all proposals.

1st of January, 49, he delivered it in full senate to the new consuls, Corn. Lentulus and C. Claudius Marcellus. This Marcellus was a brother of the consul of 51 and cousin to the one who had had the fasces in 50, three consulships in three years in the same house. By its exclusive selections the oligarchy itself, before it expired, increased the evil of which it was dying. The consuls refused to make Cæsar's letter known; Cassius and Marc Antony demanded that it should be read, without however, getting a regular deliberation entered upon. In the midst of a confused debate, Lentulus was so far carried away as to declare that if the senate persisted in its servility, he and his friends were resolved to act, and the majority, swayed by fear,<sup>1</sup> adopted the motion of Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law and agent; "If on a fixed and early day Cæsar has not abandoned his army and his provinces, he will be treated as a public enemy." They forgot that another senate had declared Cinna, Marius, Sylla and Lepidus public enemies, and that of those four outlaws three had re-entered Rome in triumph. But "they desired war," says Cicero, and they had need of it to satisfy at once their hatred and their covetousness.<sup>2</sup>

The veto of the tribunes at first hindered Scipio's motion from being drawn up in the form of a decree, and the crowd in the Forum, to whom they declared that Cæsar only desired to return as a private individual and give an account of his administration to the sovereign assembly, were angry that a hearing should be refused to him who appealed to the justice of the people.

In order to silence these remarks and this opposition, Pompey, who was encamped with his troops at the gates of Rome, sent a few cohorts into the city, and at the meeting of the 6th of January the senate passed a decree charging the consuls to watch over the safety of the Republic; this was the declaration of war. As the tribunes persisted in their veto, the consuls invited them to leave the curia if they wished to avoid some outrage. At these

<sup>1</sup> *Inviti et coacti*, says Cæsar (*de Bell. civ.*, i. 2).

<sup>2</sup> *Vidi . . . nostros amicos cupere bellum, hunc autem [Cæsarem] non tam cupere quam non timere.* (*ad Fam.*, ix. 6.) On another occasion he writes to M. Marius (*ad Fam.*, vii. 3); . . . *In bello rapaces, in oratione ita crudeles, ut ipsam victoriam horrerem; maximum autem æs alienum amplissimorum virorum.*

words Antony rose, and taking the gods to witness the violence done to the popular magistrates, he cried; "It is because they speak in the name of prudence and equity that they are shamefully driven out like criminals and homicides." Then, as if seized with prophetic fury, he announced war, murders, proscription, and called down the divine vengeance on the head of those who provoked all these evils.<sup>1</sup> But the Pompeian soldiers approached; they were about to surround the Curia. Antony and Cassius hastened out, followed by Cælius and Curio; the following night all four, disguised as slaves, fled to Cæsar's camp. In the eyes of many he already had law on his side; with these men with him he appeared to have popular right, and the oligarchy placed him in a position of legitimate defence (January 7, 49 B.C.—November 19, 50 B.C.).

Whilst the tribunes were proceeding in all haste towards Ariminum, the senate voted the decree of proscription and distributed the provinces in contempt of constitutional rules. They bestowed commands upon senators who had no right to them, so that ordinary private individuals were seen preceded by lictors in Rome. Scipio and Domitius could not yet be proconsuls; the former was given Syria, the latter Transalpine Gaul. Others were sent to Sicily, to Sardinia, to Africa, and to Cilicia; Considius received the difficult office of taking possession of Cisalpine Gaul; to Cicero was confided the more modest mission of watching over the coasts of Campania, which no one threatened. They all started without any legal title, for the comitia curiata were not called together to confer the *imperium* upon them, and they fulfilled none of the religious and military formalities imposed upon magistrates on their entry into office. The party which pretended to fight on the side of the laws began by violating every law.

If the picture that has just been drawn of the internal state of Rome is a true one, Cæsar's ambition was legitimate, and his victory was as desirable as it was certain, for he had the strength to conquer as he had the genius to make use of victory, and give

<sup>1</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 33. The letters of the pseudo-Sallust to Cæsar speak (i. 4) of the murder, ordered by Cato, Domitius, and their party, of forty senators and a great number of youths. No trace of this deed is found elsewhere. Cicero and Cæsar would certainly have mentioned it.

the world that repose for which it longed. Humanity advances, according to the times, by the power of one as well as by the liberty of all. But it was not a question of sacrificing liberty. Where was liberty in the bloody saturnalia which had so long made the life of the Roman people the most tragic of stories? Where was it for the great body of Latin nations which, instead of moving onwards towards the future with a calm and assured step, was swaying in violent convulsions? It is a strange thing that in our age of democracy and revolutions wrought in streets and palaces men side with the faction of the nobles against the popular leader; with Sylla's heirs against the successors of the Gracchi; with the revolution brought about at Rome in the interest of a few persons against that which took place on the passage of the Rubicon and profited the greatest number.<sup>1</sup> Everyone allows himself to be misled by the false inscription of the Roman republic placed upon monuments, which might still be read upon the standards of the soldiers of Probus. No doubt the man who had just rendered Rome the immense service of bringing to her feet the dreaded Gallic race, and driving back the Germanic invasion for three centuries to come,—no doubt this man was about to violate the law which forbade proconsuls to issue from their provinces in arms. But what of his opponents? and indeed, after the declaration of war by the consuls, were there any laws at all? It is asking too much of human nature, in sooth, to think it possible for the victorious general, who would most certainly have been proscribed at Rome had he re-entered it without the protection of a public office, to have committed himself to the discretion of intriguing nobles.<sup>2</sup> We cannot perceive that those who pretended to save liberty intended to save aught but the oligarchical interests.

The question of legality may be summed up in two words:

<sup>1</sup> This prejudice dates from early times. The parliamentarians and men of letters of the seventeenth century retained it when absolute monarchy was at its height. Guy Patin said to a First President that if he had been in the senate when Cæsar was slain he would have dealt him the twenty-fourth dagger-thrust. This was a *literary* opinion which all the Ciceronians shared, after the example of their master, and which many among them still keep.

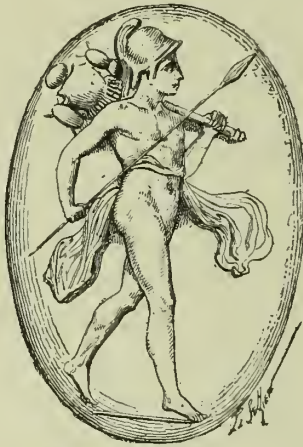
<sup>2</sup> Cato loudly declared that he would take the execution upon himself, and Cæsar was promised the fate of Milo. (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 30.)



the nobles commenced the war in order to carry out their illegal *senatus-consultum* of the 10th of January, 49 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and this war Cæsar accepted to defend the sovereign plebiscitum of 52 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Illegal in the sense that it violated a formal law, the plebiscitum of 52; without the laws of 55 and 52, the senate would have had the right of shortening the duration of Cæsar's powers, but since the passing of these laws they no longer possessed it.

<sup>2</sup> From an engraved stone (an amethyst, .59055 inch by .43307 inch) from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1441 of the Catalogue.



Mars bearing a Trophy.

## CHAPTER LVI.

### THE CIVIL WAR AND CÆSAR'S DICTATORSHIP.

#### I.—PROGRESS OF THE MONARCHICAL IDEA.

THE poet Lucan, in a famous passage, represents Cæsar implored by his sorrowing country to desist from his crime. Crime? <sup>1</sup> no, but a necessary revolution, hid from Lucan's eyes by the epic illusions wherewith he consoled himself at Nero's court. It was indeed the favour of the people which made Cæsar master of Rome, not his army or his genius. The first and irresistible cause was the need in which the empire stood of a firm and regular government.

Everything tended towards a monarchy, which the loss of equality, the disorganization of the empire, and the desires of the steady classes rendered inevitable. What had the tribuneship of Caius, the consulships of Marius and Cinnæ, Sylla's dictatorship, Pompey's commands been, but so many temporary royalties? <sup>2</sup> For a century past this idea had made way and gained over, unknown to themselves, many minds even among the highest classes. The peace for which Lucretius asks, <sup>3</sup> the new wisdom which counsels men to flee public life and its dangerous seductions, as well as the temples and their vain terrors, the repose which Atticus seeks

<sup>1</sup> Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 183.

<sup>2</sup> *C. Marius et . . . L. Sylla victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Pompeius occultior, non melior: et nunquam postea nisi de principatu quesitum.* (Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 38.)

<sup>3</sup> *Placidam pacem.* . . . (i. 41.) The philosophy of Epicurus had made great progress at Rome. In the question between liberty and tyranny, it declared in favour of the latter, men being too senseless and wicked for the wise man to expose himself to danger with the view of delivering them. (Plut., *Brut.*, 12.) Epicureanism was veritably a doctrine of renouncement: "Epicurus," says Plutarch, "held the sovereign good to be in profound repose, as in a harbour protected from all the winds and waves of the world," and Lucretius is as much occupied in his poem in delivering mankind from the ambition for honours and glory as in freeing it from the yoke of superstition. The height of wisdom, to his thinking, is to attain peace of mind.

remote from business and at peace with all the rivals,<sup>1</sup> and even Cicero's uncertainties, are they not indications of the disgust inspired by the unbearable anarchy called the Roman republic?

When the aruspices, being consulted in 56 about some prodigies at which the people were frightened, had replied that the Republic was threatened with falling into the power of a single man, the notion had been revealed to them, not by the entrails of victims or the flight of birds, but by public opinion, of which they were an unconscious[?] echo.<sup>2</sup> Did not Cicero himself write; "What do you mean by men of the good party? I know none. Is it the senate, who leave the provinces without any administration, and who dared not hold their own against Curio? Is it the knights, whose patriotism has always been wavering, and who are now Caesar's best friends? Is it the tradesmen and country-people, who only ask to live in quiet, no matter under what regime, were it even under a king? . . . Caesar is now at the head of eleven legions and as much cavalry as he likes. He has on his side the Transpadane, the people of Rome, the majority of the tribunes, all the debauched youth, the influence of his name, and his incredible audacity."<sup>3</sup>

Plutarch, who saw documents which are lost to us, writes on his part; "Some candidates were seen to draw up the lists in the Campus Martius and buy votes in a shameless manner, whilst others led thither armed bands, who with arrows, slings, and swords drove off their opponents. More than once the rostra were stained with blood; the city was carried away amid the anarchy, like a helmless vessel in a storm. The wise only hoped that this madness would bring forth nothing worse than monarchy, and resigned themselves thereto."<sup>4</sup> "The Republic is incurable," said

<sup>1</sup> Atticus was at the same time, or by turns, the friend of Cicero and of Clodius, of the younger Marius and of Sylla, of Caesar and of Pompey, of Brutus and Antony, and finally of Augustus, who took his granddaughter into the imperial house.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad unum imperium provincie redeant exercitusque.* (Cic., *de Harusp. resp.*, 19.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ad Att.*, vii. 7. Caesar had not then more than nine legions.

<sup>4</sup> *Caesar*, 28. Cf. *App., Bell. civ.*, 19-20, and *Dion*, liii. 19; . . . παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἦν δημοκρατούμενους αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι. In the conversation of Cratippus with Pompey after Pharsalia, the philosopher "demonstrated to him that in the position in which affairs then were a monarchy was necessary in place of a bad government." (Plut., *Pomp.*, 75.) A century and a half later, Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 9) recognized this truth; *Non aliud discordantis patriæ remedium fuisse quam ut ab uno regeretur.*

they again; "there is no remedy but monarchy, and this medicine we must ask of the gentlest doctor."<sup>1</sup>

Those who sought for the great patient the most accommodating physician, the one who would cost least, were bent

<sup>1</sup> Two letters were long attributed to Sallust which he was supposed to have written to Cæsar, the one before Pharsalia, the other after the war in Alexandria. They belong to the reign of Augustus, and from their date lose much of their historical importance, but they are none the less curious as a *résumé* of the opinions of those who accepted a monarchy. "In the name of the gods, Cæsar, take the Republic in hand, for you alone can remedy our ills. Do not permit the great and invincible empire of the Roman people to fall through age and powerlessness, or to crumble away amid our senseless discords. If the country, if your ancestors, could make themselves heard, they would say to you; 'O Cæsar! we have caused thee to be born in the most illustrious city, thee, our glory and support! We ask thee to save our empire from approaching ruin; for if, consumed by the ill which saps it, or struck by the blows of fate, it reaches the point of decrepitude, who doubts that the whole world would be forthwith given over to devastation, war, and carnage?'"

It is in the name of public peace, in the name of universal order, that the writer asks the victorious general to provide for the safety of Italy and the provinces. "The task is an immense one. It will be needful to crush the faction of the nobles, to establish equality, and give new laws to land and seas; but for great works, great rewards!" And he points out some of the necessary reforms; "The people has perished: there remains but a corrupt multitude, devoted to an infinite variety of trades and ways of life, without ties, without union, and altogether unfitted to take part in the government. Perhaps by infusing new men into it, it might reawaken to the sentiment of its dignity. Call in, then, fresh citizens who, mixing with the old ones, may go and found colonies. Our military force will gain thereby, and the people, bound to honest occupations, will cease to produce public misfortune. I know what wrath, what storms will break loose among the nobles. They will exclaim with indignation that everything is to be upset, that citizens are treated as slaves; that a free city is being transformed into a kingdom if one man be allowed the right of giving citizenship to many. But no matter, the public weal demands it; to hesitate would be a crime—cowardice. . . . They slew Drusus because he attempted this reform; redouble then, your pains to secure friends and numerous supports.

"When the people shall be thus regenerated, strengthen good customs, restrain the expenditure of each, abolish usury, and destroy the power of gold. Let wealth no longer give the power of deciding concerning the life and honour of citizens, let offices be accorded to merit, not to fortune, and let the law of C. Gracchus for drawing lots for the centuries of the five classes be put in force again; and finally, let military service, equally divided, weigh upon all. The citizens hereby rendered equal will no longer seek to surpass each other in aught but virtue.

"In our days a few effeminate and shameless nobles form a faction which insolently rules the nations and the senate. In former times the wisdom of that great body strengthened the tottering Republic; now being itself oppressed, it decrees according to its rulers' caprices, to-day one thing, to-morrow another. What is good and what ill the hatred of the nobles alone decides. Increase then, the number of senators, and establish the vote by secret ballot, that we may no longer see a few nobles approving, condemning, ordering, and directing everything according to their fancy."

Thus the summoning to Rome of new citizens to regenerate the people, the spreading of the Roman element through the provinces by means of colonies, the re-establishment of equality by destroying the excessive influence of the nobles, the giving of a better composition to armies; finally, a total reorganization of everything, *land and sea*—such are the writer's earnest desires, and such had been Cæsar's.



upon selecting Pompey,<sup>1</sup> who thus attained his end very easily; the consuls resigned their power into his hands, that he might overthrow Caesar, who was the last obstacle; and he reckoned upon succeeding in that without any difficulty. He did not even think there was any need for long preparations. At Ravenna,<sup>2</sup> Caesar had only one legion, and did not his persevering negotiations prove his weakness and his fears?

## II.—CROSSING OF THE RUBICON: CÆSAR TAKES POSSESSION OF ROME AND ITALY (49 B.C.).

But suddenly the news arrived that he had crossed the Rubicon, the boundary of his province, and taken Ariminum, where he had shown his soldiers the fugitive tribunes in their slaves' dresses; that all his forces were on the move, carrying with them Gaul, which had promised him 10,000 foot and 6,000 horse; that his legionaries, far from hesitating, were full of ardour and gave him credit for their pay, whilst each centurion furnished him with a horseman; finally, that all the cities were opening their gates to him, and that he in person was rapidly advancing by the Flaminian Way, enthusiastically welcomed by the inhabitants. "Where is your army?" demanded Volcatius of Pompey. "Stamp your foot upon the earth," said Favonius in irony, "it is high time." And the sham great man, cut off from his legions in Spain, was reduced to acknowledge that he could not defend Rome. He attempted to escape Caesar's first impetuosity by stopping him with a pretended negotiation, which he entrusted to one of the proconsul's relatives

<sup>1</sup> All had been prepared beforehand to give Pompey the means of overthrowing Caesar; the kind of dictatorship he had exercised at Rome, where he had borne the consulship, while retaining, contrary to law, the proconsulship of Spain; the army which he commanded in Italy; the seven legions in Spain, absolutely useless in that pacified province; the immense fleet which he had at disposal as superintendent of provisions; the thousand talents which he had the right to draw annually from the treasury; the law concerning magistracies, which substituted a new order for the old one, solely destined to hinder Caesar from obtaining the consulship; . . . *omnia contra se (Cæsarem) parari; in se novi generis imperia constitui . . . ; in se jura magistratum commutari*, etc. (Caesar, *de Bell. civ.*, i. 85.)

<sup>2</sup> Ravenna is about a hundred leagues from Rome. The passage of the Rubicon must have taken place on the 12th of January, 49 B.C., corresponding to the 24th of November, 50. If the calculation were made according to the sixty days fixed by Plutarch for Caesar's conquest of Italy, it would be necessary to put it as far back as the night between the 15th and 16th of November.

and the prætor Roscius. Cæsar held to the conditions contained in his letter to the senate, and expressed a desire to have an interview with Pompey. On their return the deputies loudly praised his moderation. His demand for simultaneous disarmament appeared fair to everyone ;<sup>1</sup> it was so, and he made it in all sincerity, for he knew that if the two generals disarmed at the same time and the elections were free, he would certainly be chosen consul. Pompey knew it as well as he, and that is why he desired war. He prevented an answer being sent to Cæsar's ultimatum, and warned the senators and magistrates that they must retire upon Capua.<sup>2</sup> This was no mere advice ; he declared that whosoever remained in the city would be treated as a public enemy.

Bronze Knocker found at Capua.<sup>3</sup>

Thus from the very beginning of the campaign he left his foe in possession of the capital, an immense advantage in a state where the capital was still nearly everything.

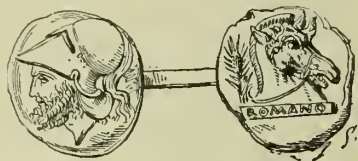
The order was executed, and the senators, who were yesterday

<sup>1</sup> Dion, xli. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar, *de Bell. civ.*, i. 33; Plut., *Cæsar*, 65; Dion., xli. 6; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Gazette archéol.*, 1875, pl. 17. This beautiful door-ornament forms part of the collections of the Duc de Luynes in the *Cabinet des Médailles*. The head of Medusa with which it is ornamented in high relief is, says M. de Chanot (*op. cit.*, p. 69), one of the most perfect specimens of the Gorgon, according to the ideal of the best classical art.

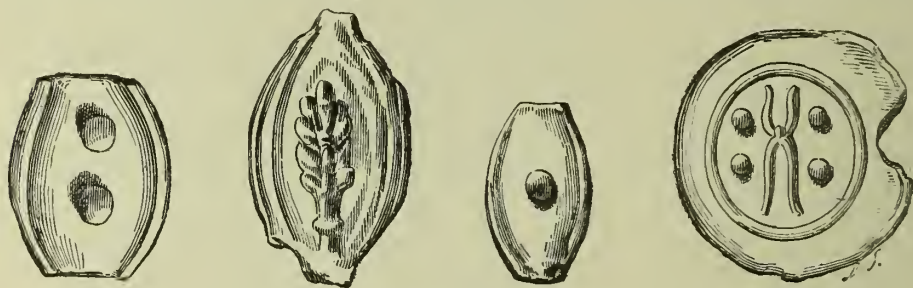
so threatening, were seen fleeing hastily before one legion. Presently the Appian Way was covered with a disorderly crowd, less irritated perhaps, against the man who seemed to be pursuing



Coin of Capua.<sup>1</sup>

them than against him whose haughty carelessness had made no preparations for their defence. At Capua the confusion reached its highest pitch. There was a lack of money, although it had been exacted from all the neighbouring

towns and taken from the temples;<sup>2</sup> even men were lacking, for fear had spread everywhere. At Rome mourning had been assumed



Coins of Iguvium.

and public prayers ordered as in times of great calamity. "In Italy levies were difficult to make: some refused to serve; others came up unwillingly; the greater part cried out for some compromise,"<sup>3</sup> and Cicero found out that his former hero was a very poor general.<sup>4</sup> In the hurry of their flight the consuls had left the treasure-chest at Rome. Pompey wished them to return for it, but an army was needed for its escort, and the two legions at Capua barely sufficed to keep in check the gladiators whom Cæsar maintained in that city. Moreover, the latter was rapidly approaching, preceded by this declaration; "I come to deliver the Roman people from a faction which oppresses them, and to re-establish their tribunes in their dignity." Pisaurum, Ancona, Iguvium, Asculum, were taken, or rather, opened their gates, driving out the Pompeian garrisons.

<sup>1</sup> Head of Mars. See vol. i. p. cvi., for another specimen of the coins of Capua.

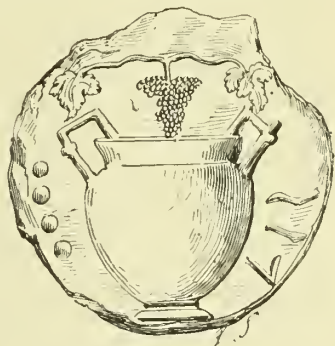
<sup>2</sup> . . . . *Pecuniæ a municipiis exiguntur, e fanis tolluntur.* (Cæsar, *de Bell. civ.*, i. 6.)

<sup>3</sup> Plut., *Pomp.*, 59; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Quem ego hominem ἀπολιτικώτατον omnium jam ante cognoram: nunc vero etiam ἀστρατηγικώτατον.* (*ad Att.*, viii. 16.)



In order to reduce Cæsar's army, leave had been offered to the soldiers and great promises made to the leaders. One of them, Labienus, the most renowned of his lieutenants, had yielded; though Cæsar had placed full confidence in him. During the year 50 he had entrusted him with the command of Cisalpine Gaul, his outpost and fortress. But Labienus, proud of his military glory and of the wealth he had acquired,<sup>1</sup> thought he had done much more towards conquering Gaul than his leader. On the approach of the Civil war he calculated the chances of the two parties, imagined that Pompey would be the stronger, and at the outset of hostilities went over to his side, a great joy for the Pompeians, who took this flight for the signal of the defections which had been commenced. Cicero already saw "the new Hannibal" overthrown, but not a single soldier followed



Coin of Pisaurum.

Labienus; Cæsar did not even deign to keep the traitor's baggage.<sup>2</sup> This politic generosity, his clemency to prisoners, whom he left free to enlist among his troops or to return to their party, the discipline observed by his soldiers, shook the zeal of many. From the very beginning he had used this politic speech; "Whoso is not against me is for me," in contrast to Pompey, who declared all to be enemies who followed not with him. Cæsar thus won to his cause the indifferent and the timid, who are always the most numerous; he also attracted upright minds by addressing to all the cities in Italy messages in which he conjured Pompey to submit their differences to arbitration.<sup>3</sup> His letters to Oppius and Balbus were quoted; "Yes, I will use leniency, and I will do all to bring back Pompey. Let us try this means to gain hearts and consolidate victory; terror has only succeeded in making my predecessors hated and has upheld no one. Sylla forms an exception, but I will never take him for a model. Let us seek success by other ways, and let us recommend

<sup>1</sup> *ad Att.*, vii. 7, and *Dion.* xli. 4.

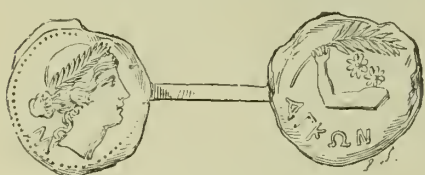
<sup>2</sup> Labienus joined Pompey at Teanum on the 22nd or 24th of January, 49 B.C. (*ad Fam.*, xiv. 14.)

<sup>3</sup> Ἐγὼ δίκην τινα. (*Dion.*, xli. 10.)



our cause by benefits and clemency.”<sup>1</sup> Honour to the man who wrote this noble letter in face of a party whose chiefs would have made a different use of victory.

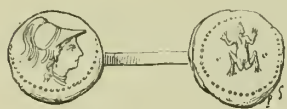
Pompey, on the contrary, assumed kingly airs; he and those about him had naught but threats in their mouths.<sup>2</sup> “One would have said they were so many Syllas.” This royalty had been his secret idea for two years past; “If he deserted Rome,” says Cicero, “it is not that he could not have defended it; if he abandons Italy it is not necessity which compels him thereto; his sole design since the commencement has been to upset land and sea, to raise barbarous kings to revolt, to cast upon Italy armed waves of savage nations, to assemble innumerable soldiers under him—a power like Sylla’s, that is what he craves, and all that those who accompany him wish for.” Accordingly, many slipped quietly away and went back to the city.<sup>3</sup>



Coin of Ancona.<sup>4</sup>

Two great roads led from Rome to Cisalpine Gaul, one passing through the country of the Etruscans, the other through that of the Umbrians; Cæsar rapidly closed them by seizing the strongholds

of Arretium, on the *via Cassia*, and Iguvium, Pisaurum, and Ancona, on the Flaminian Way. The disaffection against the senate and their general was so great that Picenum, where Pompey had hereditary domains and innumerable clients, offered no resistance. The cities drove out their senatorial garrisons and opened their gates to



Coin of Luceria.

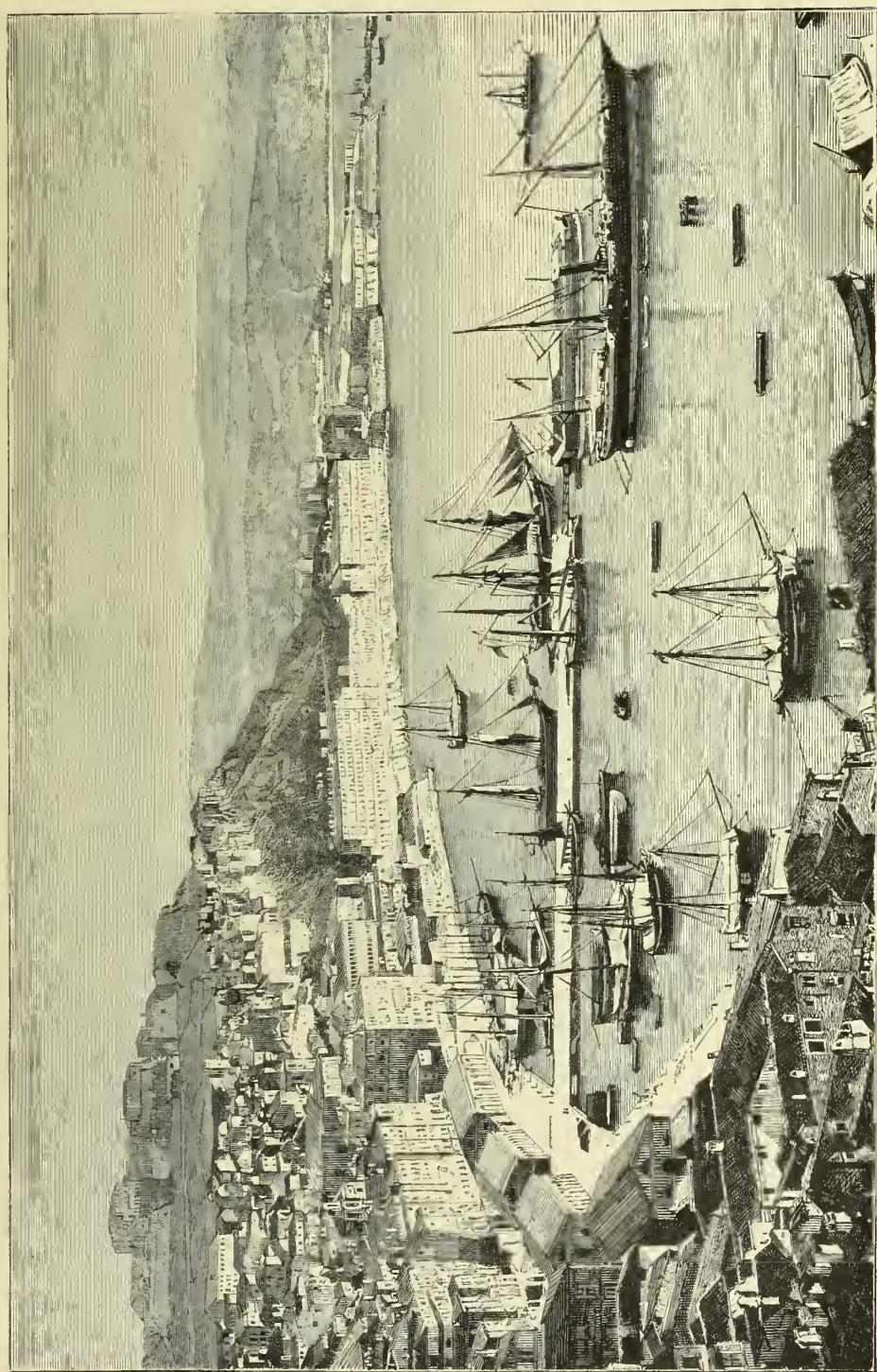
Cæsar. Asculum made him master of the *via Salaria*, the Sabine approach to Rome, Cingulum, which surrendered to him, in spite

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *ad Att.*, ix. 7c.

<sup>2</sup> *Sermones minucis, inimicos optimatum, municipiorum hostis, meras proscriptiones, meros Syllas.* (*ad Att.*, ix. 11.) *Sullaturit . . . proscripturit*, etc. (Cf. Dion, xli. 10.) Is this an allusion to the massacres spoken of by the pseudo-Sallust? (*Epist.*, i. 4.) The clemency of Cæsar, says Hirtius (*de Bell. Afric.*, 88), was a gift of nature in him, but also a policy, *pro natura et pro instituto*. It is so much the more to be praised.

<sup>3</sup> *Bonorum sermones Romæ frequentes dicuntur.* (*ad Att.*, viii. 11.) *Urbem jam refertam esse optimatum audio.* (*ad Att.*, ix. 1.)

<sup>4</sup> See vol. i. p. cxii., for the explanation of the emblem on the reverse, a bent arm.



Port of Ancona.





of the favours with which Labienus had loaded it, put him in possession of the valley of the *Velinus*, whence he could descend into those of the Anio and Tiber. All the approaches to the capital were thus in his hands.

But Pompey had no army at Rome; having taken refuge in Campania he soon found he was no longer safe there, and retired as far as Luceria. This march revealed his design of crossing the sea and carrying the war into the eastern provinces, where the senators would see Pompey surrounded by a retinue of kings. There indeed, great resources were at his disposal. He thought he could count upon the devotion of the cities and princes from the Adriatic to the Euphrates, from the Danube to the cataracts of Syene, from Cyrenaica to the depths of Spain, which his lieutenants ruled. Finally the immense fleet which he had collected during his superintendence of provisions formed a connection between all these provinces and gave him the uncontested empire of the seas. Cicero blames him for having abandoned Italy, and posterity has followed Cicero, who was not a great general.<sup>1</sup> But having made the mistake of despising his enemy, which prevented his forming anything like a serious army before the commencement of hostilities, and then that of believing in defections of which only one took place, he could not, with his fresh levies, contest Rome with veteran legions who had grown accustomed to conquer during nine campaigns of the most terrible warfare. The retreat beyond the Adriatic was a military necessity, and had perhaps been a long foreseen one.<sup>2</sup>

Cæsar perceived the plan as soon as Pompey withdrew from Capua. Being reinforced by two legions, twenty-two cohorts of Gallic auxiliaries, and 300 cavalry from Noricum,<sup>3</sup> he advanced by forced marches towards the south in order to cut off the fugitives from the road to Brundisium. The resistance of Domitius at Corfinium delayed him for seven days. There were in and around the place thirty-one cohorts, senators, and knights, but in that country, the former centre of the Social war, the people were not

<sup>1</sup> *Vehementer contemnebat hunc hominem.* (*ad Att.*, vii. 8.)

<sup>2</sup> *Hoc turpe Gnaeus noster biennio ante cogitavit.* (*ad Att.*, ix. 10.)

<sup>3</sup> These auxiliaries from Noricum prove that Cæsar had attached to his cause the nations on the right bank of the Upper Danube, settled to the north of his province of Illyria.



at all eager to fight for Sylla's heirs against the nephew of Marius. The troops of Domitius mutinied, and the town was given up with the immense stores it contained. The usual cruelties were expected; in order to forestall them, Domitius tried to poison himself. The physician only gave him a narcotic, and he was able, like the others, to implore the pardon of the man whom he and his party would certainly not have pardoned. They asked for their lives. "But," said he, "I left my province in order to defend myself, not to avenge myself," and he guaranteed them against all insult from his soldiers; he even allowed them to carry off their wealth without binding them not to serve against him again, a noble imprudence which cost him many men and much time and money; a few weeks later Domitius tried to raise Gallia Narbonensis against him, and compromised Cæsar's expedition beyond the Pyrenees by retaining three of his legions beneath the walls of revolted Marseilles.

This unusual clemency produced a profound sensation. "Often," writes Cicero, "I chat with the inhabitants of municipia and villages. Their field, their dwelling, their little savings, these are their only care. They dread him in whom they lately trusted, they love him who frightened them,"<sup>1</sup> and, let us add, "who now reassures them." These peasants, caring very little about politics, but very much for their own interests, belong to all ages. They trembled when they heard rumbling overhead the storm let loose by passions which they did not understand, and they prayed for the success of him who seemed likely to restore calm. The aged *consularis* ended by going over to their opinion, and he came to wish that Cæsar might reach Brundisium soon enough to forestall Pompey and impose peace upon him.<sup>2</sup>

This peace Cæsar ardently desired; at every opportunity he repeated his demand for it, and there is no doubt that, but for Pompey's vast pride, which brooked no equal, and the violent hatred of the oligarchy against the popular proconsul, peace would have been easily concluded. From Ariminum, Cæsar had sent a message to Pompey, in which, while recalling his just grievances, he renewed the very acceptable proposals which he had already made.

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Att.*, viii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

Let Pompey start for Spain, and he, Cæsar, would disband his troops. Then the consular elections would take place with full freedom, and the senate and people would have recovered their rights. If any misunderstanding should hinder these overtures being immediately accepted, let the two generals meet in conference, and all difficulties would be smoothed away.<sup>1</sup> On learning these conditions there had been great rejoicing among those who dreaded Civil war, "but



Harbour of Brundisium (Brindisi).<sup>2</sup>

they had filled Pompey with fear, for he well knew that if the people were taken as judges, his rival would win."<sup>3</sup> Accordingly he had made an evasive answer, in which the clearest words were to the effect that the proconsul of the Gauls must return to his

<sup>1</sup> *De Bell. civ.*, i. 9. After the capture of Corfinium he charged C. Balbus to see the senators, to assure them that he ardently desired peace, and to tell Cicero in particular that he would consent to recognize Pompey's authority if he were certain to have guarantees for his life: *Nihil malle Cæsarem quam principe Pompeio sine metu vivere.* (*ad Att.*, viii. 9.) "Do you believe that?" adds Cicero, and to me, as to him, such great abnegation appears suspicious. But I believe in Cæsar's sincere desire to make a peace which could not but turn out to his advantage.

<sup>2</sup> From Yriarte, *les Bords de l'Adriatique*, p. 609

<sup>3</sup> *De Bell. civ.*, i. 10.

province, and that until he had disbanded his troops the levies would continue in Italy. Cæsar could not trust these threatening words;<sup>1</sup> he did not halt in his march. Yet on the road to Brundisium, and even before that town, he twice again asked for an interview. "The consuls are far away," answered Pompey, "we cannot treat without them." These blind men, whose eyes the loss of Italy should have opened, would neither see nor hear; while fleeing they dreamed of victories, murders, and proscriptions. Does not Cicero, the most pacific of them, say; "The assassination of Cæsar would be a happy solution."<sup>2</sup> And Pompey never doubted that he could return from the East, like Sylla, master of the world.

The resistance of Corfinium had upset Cæsar's calculations; when he appeared beneath the walls of Brundisium the consuls and their five legions were already on the other side of the Adriatic, at Dyrrachium. Pompey had sent them away "for fear they should attempt something in favour of peace."<sup>3</sup> He himself, left in the town with twenty-two cohorts, only awaited the return of his vessels in order to embark. Cæsar tried by great works to shut him up in the town by closing the entrance to the harbour. Before they were completed the consular fleet returned and Pompey set sail, March 17 (January 25).

During the operations in Italy, three Gallic legions, commanded by Fabius Maximus, had gone and taken up their position at Narbo, in order to prevent the Pompeians leaving Spain; the three others, slowly drawing near the Alps, could be directed, according to circumstances, against the Gauls if they should rise, or to the help of either Cæsar in Italy or Fabius in Gallia Narbonensis. The line of operations extended, accordingly, from Brundisium to the foot of the Pyrenees, and Cæsar no longer had any dread of being taken in the rear. At the same time Valerius had made himself master of Sardinia without striking a blow, and Curio of Sicily,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pompey said a few days before that he was certain to beat Cæsar. (*ad Att.*, vii. 16.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Att.*, ix. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Dion, xli. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Cato had been ordered to defend Sicily, and Cicero, who was very courageous for other people, reproaches him with not having offered resistance; . . . *potuisse certe tenere illam provinciam scio.* (*ad Att.*, x. 12.) But Curio arrived with his legions, and Cato had not a soldier; he did well not to oppose him with a few provincial militia, who would not have stopped the Cæsarians, and would have drawn misfortunes upon the province.

and thus the two granaries of Rome were in his hands. Sixty days had sufficed to drive the senatorial party out of Italy, subdue the peninsula with its islands, and guarantee the security of the two Gauls.

This extraordinary activity extracts from Cicero, in spite of himself, a cry of admiration and dismay; "Oh, what fearful rapidity! This man is a marvel of vigilance," and his friend Cælius, who had remained among the Cæsarians, wrote to him; "What do you think of our soldiers? In the depth of winter they finished the war by a march."<sup>1</sup> But he was mistaken in his calculation.

For want of vessels Cæsar had been unable to pursue his rival. To prevent Pompey returning and assuming the offensive, he occupied Brundisium, Sipontum, and Tarentum with troops, then he returned to Rome, which he had not seen for ten years, and where everything had resumed its usual course; "the prætors sitting in court, the ædiles preparing the games, and the people of the winning side taking advantage of the circumstances to put out their money at large interest."<sup>2</sup> When the victor re-entered it on the 1st of April (7th of February), he found there enough senators to reconstitute a senate, which he opposed to that which Pompey held in his camp. Two tribunes, Mare Antony and Cassius, convoked it upon the Campus Martius, whither Cæsar repaired. He reminded them that he had waited ten years, according to law, to solicit a second consulship, and that he had been legally authorized to canvass that magistracy, though absent; then he set forth his efforts to avert war, his repeated offers to disband his own troops if Pompey would dismiss his. He begged the senators to assist him in the government of the Republic, unless they preferred to leave the burden to him, and finally, he asked that an embassy should be appointed to go and treat for peace with the Pompeians.<sup>3</sup>

This last proposal was quite a serious one, since Cæsar never

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *ad Fam.*, viii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Att.*, ix. 12

<sup>3</sup> *De Bell. civ.*, i. 32. From the crossing of the Rubicon till Pharsalia, five attempts at negotiations may be counted. (Cf. *ibid.*, i. 8, 24, 26, 32; iii. 10, 19, 57.) Paternulus has therefore, the right to say; *Nihil relictum a Cæsare quod servande pacis causa tentari posset; nihil receptum a Pompeianis.*



lost any opportunity of renewing it; but no one was willing to undertake the matter, so much did they dread Pompey's threats against those who had remained in Rome. Cæsar did not insist; while pushing on the war energetically he was willing to gain the advantage of moderation; that is why he always spoke of reconciliation and concord, without however persuading anyone for the popular instinct was not mistaken; it was felt that the revolution was inevitable, and that Cæsar must become master. To show that this royalty did not forget its origin, he assembled the people and promised them a gratuity in corn and money. But money was already failing him; he obtained the authorization of the senate to take the treasure deposited in the temple of Saturn. This was the gold reserved for times of extreme necessity, and the law forbade it being touched save in case of a Gallic invasion. One of the tribunes, L. Metellus, opposed the proposal. "I have conquered Gaul," said Cæsar; "this reason no longer exists; moreover, the time for arms is not the time for laws;" and when the tribune stood before the door, Cæsar threatened to have him killed; "Know, young man, that it is less easy for me to say it than to do it." Cæsar had taken up arms to defend the tribunitian inviolability, he said, and now in his turn he violated it. Metellus, yielding to violence, retired. We know nothing of his life except this act of courage; it has preserved his name in history.

### III.—CÆSAR IN SPAIN; SIEGE OF MARSEILLES (49 B.C.).

Pompey being driven out of Italy, the greatest danger which threatened Cæsar at this moment was a rising in Gaul. He hastened thither, after having confided the government of the city to Lepidus, son of the consul who had revolted against the Syllan government in 78, the command of all the troops left in Italy he gave to Marcus Antonius, and that of Illyria to his brother Caius Antonius. The latter was to harass the Pompeians on the east coast of the Adriatic, or close the road against them if they attempted to penetrate by that way into Italy, as report said.<sup>1</sup> "I

<sup>1</sup> Cicero (*ad Att.*, x. 6) mentions on the 22nd of April the report of Pompey's march through Illyria.



	Scales	$\frac{1}{10\text{ }000}$					900	1 Kilom.
		700					800	
		600						
		500						
		400						
		300						
		200						
		100 <sup>m</sup>						
		50						

MILLIA  
PASSUM

THE PORT OF MARSEILLES

AT THE GRECIAN EPOCH IN 1850 , & IN 1877 , Ancient States in black

## Modern names in Red



am about to fight an army without a general," said Cæsar; "then I shall attack a general without an army." This pithy saying explains the whole war. Marseilles, Pompeian at heart, stopped him on the way; it pretended to remain neutral, but it had just received into its walls Domitius, whom Cæsar had treated so generously at Corfinium without succeeding in winning him over. Before the commencement of hostilities, Domitius had been invested by the senate with the command of Transalpine Gaul, and from Marseilles he could stir up all the province in which his ancestor, by his victories and public works, had established the influence of his house.<sup>1</sup> Cæsar hastened to shut him up in the place, which he caused to be attacked by three legions, under the command of Trebonius, and by a fleet which Decimus Brutus built in thirty days in the Rhone at the port of Arlate. During these operations, the three legions of Fabius moved from Narbo towards Spain to seize the passes of the Pyrenees; three others and 6,000 Gallie or German horse made ready to support them. The centurions, tribunes, and friends of Cæsar had lent him the necessary money, which he would not raise by confiscations.

Terentius Varro, the author, commanded in Further Spain;



C. Antonius, Cæsar's Legate.



Marseilles Personified.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> The style of this charming marble head, found in the territories of the Volca-Arecomici and preserved at Nismes, seems to fix the execution of the work at the time when Pompey gave the Massiliotes the country of the Arecomici, a short-lived rule, to which Cæsar put an end. (*Gazette archéol.*, 1875, p. 129, and pl. 34.)



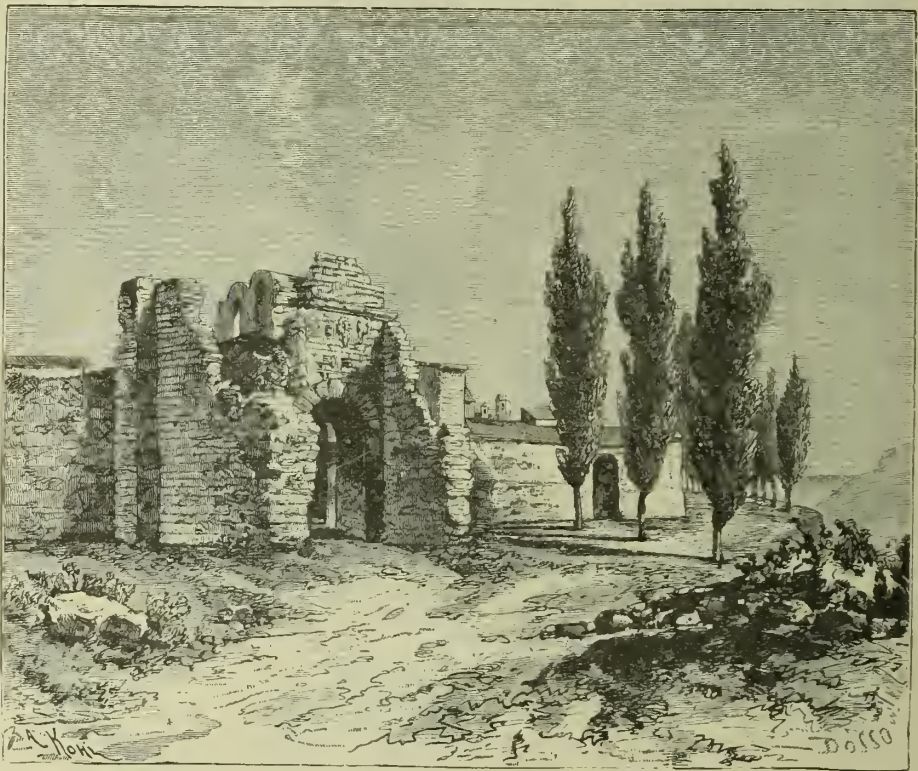
Petreius, an old soldier, in Lusitania; Afranius in Hither Spain; the two latter joined together, and with five legions stationed on the north of the Ebro, near Ilerda (Lerida),<sup>1</sup>



Coin of Varro.<sup>2</sup>

they made a stand against Fabius when he had crossed the mountains without the least resistance. On arriving, Cæsar found the two armies face to face; his own men, established in a difficult position between the

Segre and the Cinca, could only obtain provisions by drawing their



*Puerta de los Botes (Lerida).*<sup>3</sup>

convoys from countries situated on the right and left of those two rivers; Cæsar made bridges over them; but the waters, swollen by the sudden melting of the snow, carried these away, and he

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 754, for the present state of Lerida. The ancient town must have been concentrated on the plateau, and consequently have occupied a very strong position.

<sup>2</sup> VARRO PROP. Head of Jupiter Ternumatus. On the reverse, MAGN. PROCOS; dolphin and eagle separated by trident. Coin of the family Terentia.

<sup>3</sup> *Puerta de los Botes* (Roman gate). (Delaborde, vol. i., pl. lxxi.)

saw himself, as it were, surrounded and starved out; a bushel of wheat (*modius*) was sold in the camp for fifty denarii, and the ill-fed soldiers lost their strength. The situation was becoming serious, for during these long delays, Pompey, had he been the great general he was reputed, might with his powerful fleet have recrossed the Adriatic, recovered Italy and Rome, delivered Marseilles, and crushed Cæsar between the legions of Petreius and those which he brought with him.

Meanwhile Curio with two legions, had crossed from Sicily into Africa, where Varro commanded for Pompey. During his tribuneship, anxious to obtain the honour and doubtless the profit of confiscating a kingdom, he had proposed to despoil Juba, king of the Numidians.<sup>2</sup> The prince had naturally retained a feeling of resentment, which made him a devoted Pompeian. He put all his forces in movement, and joined them with those of Varro, so that Curio, being defeated on the banks of the Bagradas, slew himself. The victors butchered the legionaries whom they took prisoners. Dolabella, whom Cæsar had entrusted with the building of a fleet on the Adriatic, was also beaten by Octavius and Scribonius Libo; and finally, C. Antonius, in Illyria, fell into the hands of the Pompeians.

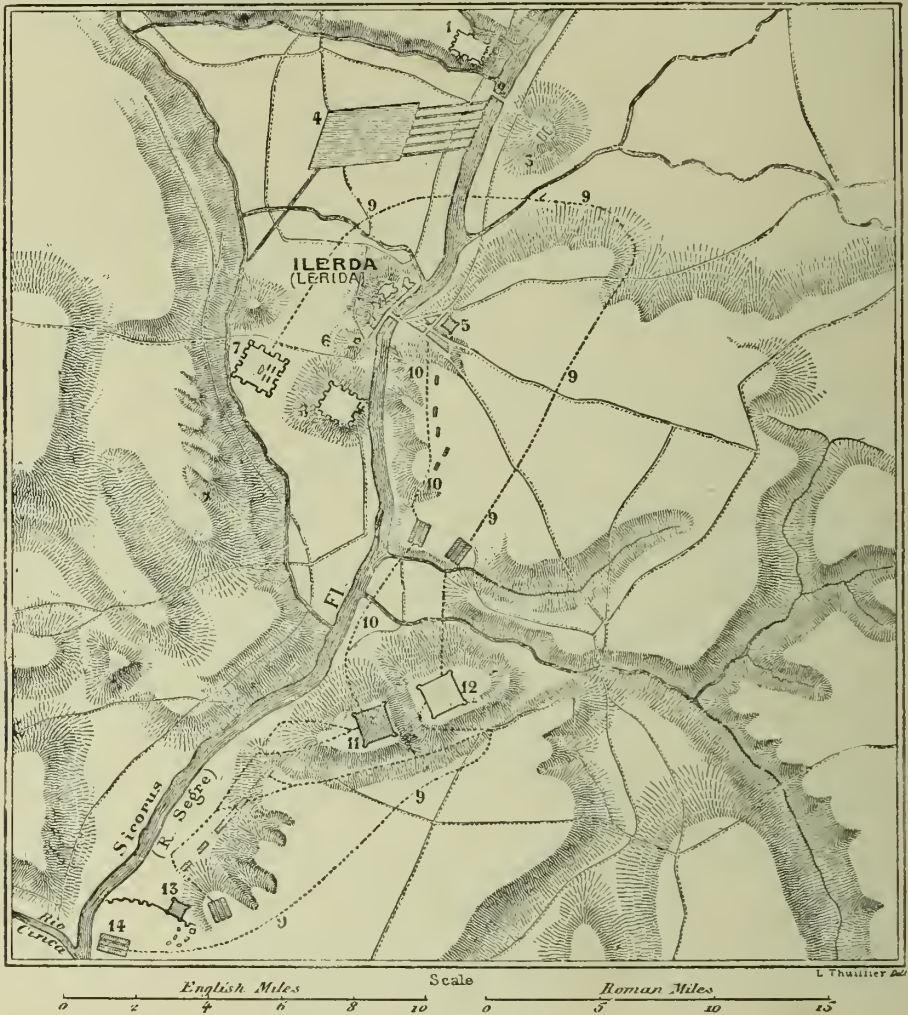
Juba I.<sup>1</sup>

When they heard at Rome of these disasters to the lieutenants, and of the critical position of the leader, whose dangers the letters of Afranius exaggerated, his cause was thought lost. Several senators who had hitherto remained neutral hastened to reach Dyrrachium. It is sad to find among them Cicero, who had hitherto remained in Italy. A few months earlier this decision would have looked like devotion to the Republican cause; now it might be called by a hard name. For his defence it must be said that he had soothed himself with the idea of acting as mediator between the two rivals. But after the visit Cæsar had paid him on his return from Brundisium, he had perceived that nothing was wanted of him but his name under decrees about to be passed, and he had been wounded to the quick at this discovery. From that time he had

<sup>1</sup> Juba I., from a gold coin of that prince. (Visconti, *Icon. grecq.*, vol. iii., pl. 55.)

<sup>2</sup> Dion. xli. 41.

thought, in spite of Cæsar's letters and the advice of Atticus, who had remained at Rome, of secretly rejoining Pompey, while all the time he said; "Ah! I see plainly which will prove the better policy." He meant a neutrality, which would have saved his life



Plan of the Environs of Lerida.<sup>1</sup>

and his fortune. Let us not accuse him of weakness, but note his clear-sighted intelligence, for though he loved with a sincere

<sup>1</sup> Petreius and Afranius occupied a fine position at No. 8, which has served in modern wars to cover the entrance into Aragon. They were there masters of both banks of the Segre, Lerida having a stone bridge which allowed them to cross on to the right bank at will. Fabius, Cæsar's lieutenant, had established himself a league and a half away from the enemy, between the Noguera Ribargorsana and the Segre, over which he threw two bridges, 4,000 paces apart.



love that Republic in which eloquence had raised him to honour, he also knew that, whoever proved victor, the Republic would perish on the battlefield.<sup>1</sup> Hence this despondency, this uncertainty and apparent vacillation, which we cannot but condemn, for this example of a great man has perhaps in other times justified indifference and cowardice, or furnished treason with sophistries. At length he forgot prudence and the jests he had made about Solon's law against neutrality, not because the senatorial party was in the right, but because it seemed to be becoming the stronger. Such indeed, was the rule of conduct which Cælius had long counselled. "As long as they keep to words," he had written to him, "I shall be with the honest folks; if it comes to blows, I shall range myself on the side of those who deal the hardest."<sup>2</sup> But Cælius had gone over to Cæsar; Cicero "went, like Amphiaræus, to cast himself living into the gulf."<sup>3</sup>

In Spain however, events had taken an unexpected turn. Cæsar had had boats built of light wood, osier, and leather, which could be carried anywhere. He took them to the banks of the Segre, far from the enemy's scouts, rapidly entrenched himself upon the other side, and could then quietly build a bridge for his

When he sent his troops to forage on the left bank of the Segre, the Pompeians attacked them. Plancus, who was in command, withdrew to the hill (No. 3), where he was able to defend himself till his leader came to the rescue. On his arrival, Cæsar, in order to press the enemy closer, established his camp in No. 7; then he attempted to get possession of a hill which stood between the enemy's camp and the town, at No. 6, but did not succeed. When the rising of the Segre had swept away his two bridges and interrupted his communications with the high lands by which supplies reached him, he drained off the river and drew away some of the water into a natural hollow (No. 4), whence a fresh canal led it into a stream which flowed into the Segre below Lerida. This work allowed him to receive his provisions and to cross over on to the left bank, where he in turn impeded the efforts of the Pompeians to revictual. Afranius then crossed the Segre, in order to escape by descending the right bank. At first he left two of his legions encamped in No. 5, and with the remainder of his forces he reached positions 11 and 12, following line No. 10. Cæsar effected the same movement along line No. 9, and then supported his left on the Segre, at the spot where it receives the Cinca, and his right on the mountains, position No. 14. The Pompeians established in No. 13 found themselves surrounded. (De Laborde, vol. i., pl. 72, and p. 42 *sq.*, after the *Mémoires militaires* of Colonel Guischard.)

<sup>1</sup> *Uterque regnare vult*, wrote he to Atticus (viii. 11). He repeats it (x. 7); *regnandi contentio est*, and in the *pro Marcello* he again says, in the year 46 (if this speech is really his), that the Civil war had been only the conflict of two ambitions. That of the Pompeians appears to him much to be feared; *Primum consilium est suffocare urbem et Italiam fame, deinde agros vastare, urere, pecuniis locupletium non abstinere . . . tegulam in Italia nullam relicturum.* (*ad Att.*, ix. 7; xi. 6; *ad Fam.*, iv. 14; Cf. Dion, xli. 56.) Appian also says (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 48); οὐ γὰρ ἀόλητον ἦν ἐς μοναρχίαν τὸν νικῶντα τρέφεισθαι.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Fam.*, viii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> It is Cicero who thus speaks of himself when he went to join Pompey. (*ad Fam.*, vi. 6.)



convoys to use; next, imposing gigantic works upon his soldiers, he drained the river by numerous canals in order to diminish its depth and make fords which would leave him free in his movements. Some successful skirmishes led to the defection of several tribes, and the Pompeian generals were reduced to quit their position at Ilerda, where Cæsar, with his numerous Gallic cavalry, would have at length starved them into surrender. But to beat a retreat before so active a general was a difficult undertaking. They attempted it, however. Not one of their movements, by night or by day escaped his vigilance; he guessed all their plans, forestalled them in all the positions they tried to occupy, surrounded them, and at length saw the soldiers of the two generals "raise their shields above their heads,"<sup>1</sup> a signal equivalent to our laying down arms (June 9, 49 B.C). He granted them their lives and disbanded them, saying; "If you go and rejoin the Pompeians, tell them how I treated you." This campaign, in which "by the influence of his manœuvres" Cæsar subdued, without fighting, an army equal in strength to his own, was the admiration of the great Condé and of Napoleon. Either through imprudent slowness or calculated delay, Varro had not effected a junction with his two colleagues in time. All resistance was now impossible to him; he appeared at Corduba before the victor, who took away his military chest, swelled by numerous exactions.<sup>2</sup>

Having conquered and pacified this wholly Pompeian province in forty days,<sup>3</sup> Cæsar set out again for Marseilles, whither his foe, who had an immense fleet at disposal, had only succeeded in sending the insignificant reinforcement of sixteen galleys led by Nasidius. Shut up within their walls by two defeats inflicted by Decimus Brutus, the skilful leader who had so well conducted the war against the Veneti, the inhabitants were reduced to the last extremities. On the arrival of the proconsul they decided to enter into negotiations, and gave up their arms, their vessels, and all

<sup>1</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 42.

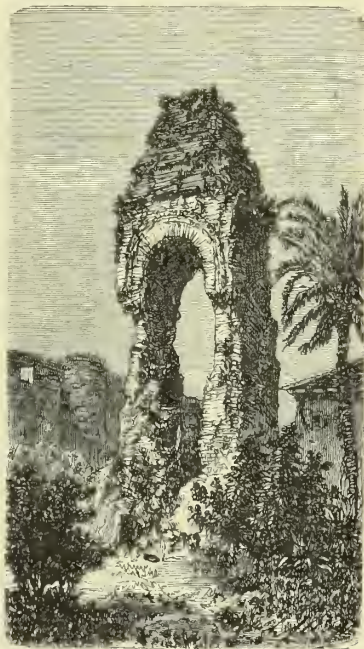
<sup>2</sup> Cæsar, *de Bell. civ.*, i. 37-87. Respecting this clemency, it must be noted that Afranius, having seized all Cæsar's soldiers who had come into his camp, under protection of a tacit truce, had put them to death. (*Ibid.*, 76, and App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 43.)

<sup>3</sup> Cæsar, *de Bell. civ.*, ii. 32.

the money in the public treasury. Here again Cæsar did himself honour by his clemency; he had no occasion however, to exercise it towards Domitius, who fled before the town opened its gates.

Like Alexander, he troubled himself about what men thought of him. About barbarous towns he had few scruples. Who spoke of their ruin? Marseilles was celebrated; it was the Athens of Gaul; he spared it. He left it its liberty, its laws, and walls. But he took away its arms, vessels, and treasure; he deprived it of several of its subject towns, amongst others, of Agde and Antibes, which he made into two Roman colonies, and he founded, at the mouth of the Argens,<sup>1</sup> Frejus, which he destined as a rival to the Massiliotes on the east coast, as Narbo was on the west. A few years later, under Augustus, Frejus became one of the arsenals of the empire, and Strabo calls Narbo the port of all Gaul. In this latter town, and at Béziers and Arles, he settled those soldiers who had completed their term of military service.

These last operations ensured the submission of all the western provinces of the empire, those which furnished the bravest soldiers.<sup>2</sup> Cæsar now secure of not being troubled in the rear, could go in search of the general whose best army he had just destroyed.



The Golden Gate at Frejus.

<sup>1</sup> A river, the great alluvial deposits of which have choked up the navigable lagoon which used to separate the town from the sea. On the Roman buildings at Frejus, which quickly had all the monuments which appeared necessary for a colony, thermæ, a theatre, an amphitheatre, and in addition, great military establishments, an aqueduct thirty-seven miles long, etc., see the interesting study by M. Lenthéric, *Frejus, le port romain et la lagune de l'Argens*.

<sup>2</sup> There has been mentioned a rising of the Volcæ-Arecomici (Nîmes) and Allobroges (Dauphiné and Savoy), who on the pretext of fidelity to the Roman senate are said to have seized this opportunity afforded by the Civil war to draw the sword once more upon their conquerors. Cæsar is said to have punished them severely, and Nîmes to have long kept in one of her squares an inscription recalling their chastisement. This inscription is false; the fact which it seemed to prove must therefore be suppressed.

He was still beneath the walls of Marseilles when he heard that on the proposal of Lepidus the people had proclaimed him dictator. Many of the prescribed formalities had been omitted; a prætor and the people, instead of a consul and the senate, had invested him with the office. But, amid the din of arms, the mere appearance of legality seemed to suffice. As he was on the way to take possession of his new magistracy at Rome, he came upon his ninth legion in open revolt at Placentia because they had not yet received the gifts promised at Brundisium. The example was a dangerous one, and Cæsar punished it severely; twelve of the ringleaders were condemned to die by the axe. One of the twelve having proved that he was outside the camp during the disturbance, the centurion who had accused him was executed in his place.

He only kept the dictatorship for twelve days, just long enough to accomplish a few measures necessary for the tranquillity of Rome and Italy. Since the commencement of the war, pecuniary difficulties had been general and credit unobtainable; all the coinage seemed to be withdrawn from circulation, and a general abolition of debts was feared, which would have led to a fearful confusion.<sup>1</sup> Cæsar resorted to a happy expedient employed in earlier times. He appointed arbitrators to estimate the value of the movables and fixtures according to their prices before the war, and ordered that the creditors should receive all or part of these goods in payment, after deducting from the loans the interest already paid.<sup>2</sup> To stimulate the circulation of specie, he forbade anyone to hold more than 60,000 sesterces of coined money, a difficult measure to carry out, especially when he added, through respect for ancient right, that a slave should not be allowed to depose against his master.<sup>3</sup> There was some money however, invested in landed property; the price of land rose, and commerce found capital. The people had hoped for something more; he appeased them by a large distribution of corn. All those who

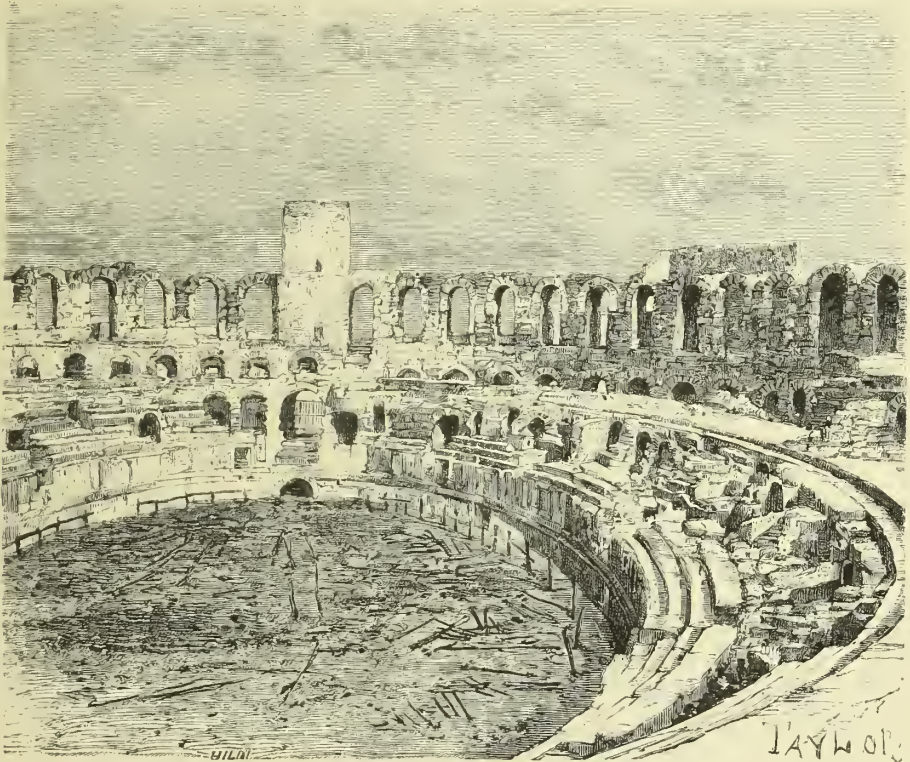
<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 42; Dion, xli. 37. The letters of the pseudo-Sallust say that Cæsar, in not abolishing debts, deceived the hopes of many, who fled to Pompey's camp, where they found an inviolable asylum, *quasi sacro atque inspoliato fano*. (*Epist.*, ii. 2.) Cicero repeats the same several times.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar, *de Bell. civ.*, iii. 1; App., ii. 48; Dion, xli. 38.

<sup>3</sup> It may be that this law was passed before his departure for Spain.



rightly or wrongly had suffered from the former government naturally obtained his protection. At the outset of hostilities, many banished men, whose condemnation Pompey had obtained during his third consulship, had come and offered him their services, and he got a law brought before the people by the tribunes to recall them from exile. Milo, the murderer of a fellow



The Amphitheatre at Arles: View of the Interior (p. 293).

tribune, and Antonius, the involuntary conqueror of Catiline, were however, excepted from the amnesty. Sylla's law inflicting political incapacity upon the children of proscribed persons was still in full vigour; it was repealed; and finally, he rewarded the Cisalpines for their long fidelity by granting them the rights of citizenship.<sup>1</sup> Before abdicating, he presided at the consular comitia, which appointed him consul with Servilius Isauricus; the other offices

<sup>1</sup> He organized *τὴν πολιτείαν ἅτε καὶ ἄρξας αὐτῶν*. (Dion, xli. 36.) Cisalpine Gaul was so Roman that it had already given birth to Catullus, Bibaculus, Cassius of Parma, Corn. Gallus, and Livy. Yet it continued to be looked upon as a province until the year 42 B.C.



were given to his partisans with all legal formalities. He himself had only assumed the fasces at the period fixed by the law which had promised him them after the tenth year of his command.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the Republic lasted, to Cæsar's advantage; nothing was wanting to him that belonged to a regular government; decrees of the senate, elections by the people, sanction of the *curiæ* and auspices. As a proconsul, Cæsar became a rebel as soon as he left his province; but now that he was a consul legally instituted, the right, in the eyes of this formalist people, was on his side and the revolt on the side of his enemies. The latter themselves recognized that in losing Rome they had lost their legal standing, or at least the power to make their position legal; for although there were 200 senators in Pompey's camp, and his soldiers were called the true Roman people, they dared not pass decrees there nor proceed to elections; when the year was over, the consuls Lentulus and Marcellus laid down their title and took that of proconsuls, according to custom.

#### IV.—THE WAR IN EPIRUS AND THESSALY; PHARSALIA (49—48 B.C.).

At the end of October, 49, Cæsar arrived at Brundisium, the rendezvous of his troops, in order to cross over thence into Epirus. "Pompey had a whole year to make his preparations. Accordingly he had got together a considerable fleet furnished by Asia, the Cyclades, Corcyra, Athens, Pontus, Bithynia, Syria, Cilicia, Phœnicia, and Egypt. Everywhere vessels had been built and large sums levied on the princes, tetrarchs, free nations, and tax-farming companies in the provinces of which he was master.

"He had nine legions of Roman citizens, of which five had come with him from Italy, one of veterans from Sicily—he called it *Gemella*, because it was made up of two others—one from Crete and Macedonia, composed of veterans who, having been disbanded by preceding generals, had settled in those provinces, and two that Lentulus had raised in Asia. Numerous recruits had joined him from Thessaly, Bœotia, Achæa, and Epirus, and he had

<sup>1</sup> January 1, 48 B.C., according to the Roman calendar; in reality, about the end of October, 49 B.C.

joined to these troops the soldiers who remained of the army of C. Antonius.<sup>1</sup> He expected two other legions which Scipio was bringing from Syria; he had 3,000 archers from Crete, Sparta, Pontus, and Syria; two cohorts of slingers of 600 men each; 7,000 horse, of which 6,000 came from Galatia with Dejotarus; 500 from Cappadocia with Ariobarzanes, and the same number from Thrace, these being commanded by the son of Cotys; 200 had joined him from the shores of the Propontis, under the orders of Rascipolis, a man of extraordinary courage. Pompey the



Mounted Archer.<sup>2</sup>

younger had brought over in the fleet 500 Gallic and German horsemen whom Gabinius had left at Alexandria as Ptolemy's guard, and 800 raised among his slaves and herdsmen; the tetrarchs of Galatia had furnished 300, the Syrian Antiochus of Commagene 200; the greater part were mounted archers. In addition to these he had Phrygians, Bessi, partly mercenary and partly volunteers, Macedonians, Thessalians, and men of other countries.

<sup>1</sup> Pompey even received some men from Athens. He separated his Greek contingents from his Oriental auxiliaries, "because," says Appian (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 75), "they were more accustomed to keep their ranks in silence."

<sup>2</sup> From the column of Marcus Aurelius, also called the Antonine column.

"He had drawn a great quantity of provisions from Thessaly, Asia, Egypt, Crete, the country of Cyrene, and other lands. His intention was to pass the winter in Dyrrachium, Apollonia, and other maritime towns in order to prevent an entrance into Greece, and with the same object he had disposed his fleet, which numbered no less than 600 vessels, all along the coast.<sup>1</sup>

Cæsar could not name among his allies either so many nations or so many kings. Yet without mentioning the legion of the Alouette (Alauda) or the aid furnished by the Gallic and Spanish cities, by the Cisalpines and nations of Italy, he had enrolled



Plan of Dyrrachium.<sup>2</sup>

German horse, whose courage he had often put to the proof, and no doubt the example of the king of Noricum, who had sent him troops at the very commencement of the war, had been followed by other chiefs on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube. Thus it was the East and the West which were about to grapple and fight, not for a senate and a liberty which were no longer known.

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, *de Bell. civ.*, iii. 3-5, and App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 49. The Pompeian forces might easily amount to 80,000 men; but the strength of Republican feeling must not be judged by the number of Pompey's troops. These legions had been enrolled before the rupture, in virtue of legitimate orders, according to ancient customs, with the formality of the oath, which placed every soldier in danger of extreme penalties if he failed to keep it. As for the auxiliaries, all these nations and kings of the East, Pompey's clients, were bound to his fortunes, and had no power to refuse him their aid. Then there had come to him the familiars and protégés of the nobles whom they had drawn along with them, and in their trains the volunteers and adventurers who were attracted by his reputation and the hope of making a fruitful campaign under him.

<sup>2</sup> Heuzey, *Mission archéologique en Macédoine*, pl. 27.

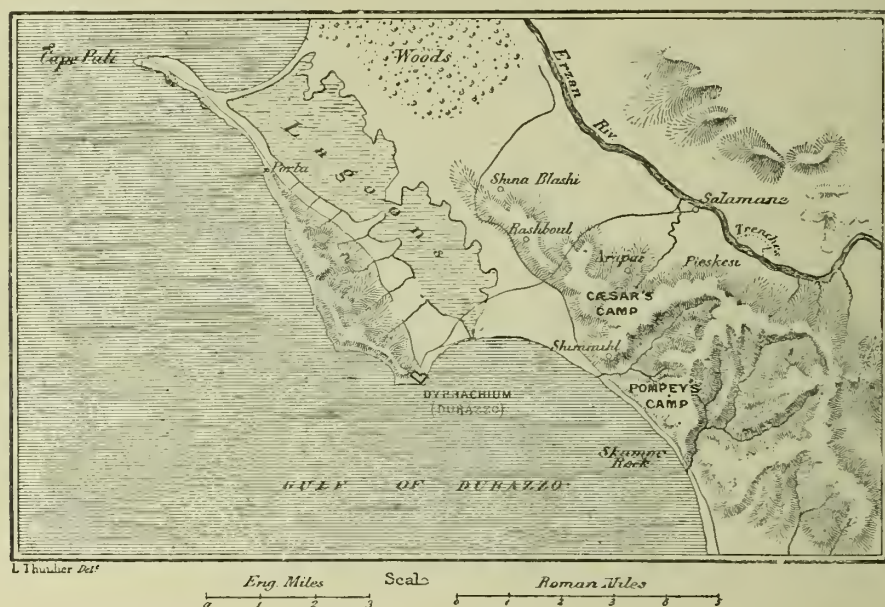
but for Cæsar or Pompey, whom each of the two great divisions of the empire wished for its master, after having had them turn by turn for conquerors and benefactors. The forces however, did not appear equal; Cæsar had neither fleet nor money, nor stores, and his troops were less in number, but for ten years they had lived in tents and conquered; their devotion to his person, as well as their confidence in his fortune, was unlimited. If Pompey's army was the stronger, there was less discipline among his soldiers, less obedience among their leaders. To see the strange dresses in the camp, to hear the officers' orders given in twenty different languages, suggested those Asiatic armies to whom the soil of Europe has been always fatal. At the prætorium again, so many magistrates and senators obstructed the chief, though he had been given full power to decide on everything.<sup>1</sup> Since they were fighting for the Republic, said they, it was certainly fitting that the commander-in-chief should show the Conscrip't Fathers, constituted into a council at Thessalonica, a deference which would be a good augury and a good example. But did this deference suit the necessities of war?

The ancients did not like sailing in winter time. Accordingly, though the passage between Brundisium and Dyrrachium was only twenty-four hours long, Pompey did not expect to be attacked before the spring, and he had quartered his troops in Thessaly and Macedonia. It was this very severity of the season which decided Cæsar. With his transport fleet he could only cross by surprise, and this surprise was only possible in winter, when the Pompeian squadrons had taken shelter from heavy weather in the harbours. In spite of his numerical inferiority and a dangerous sea, Cæsar therefore again assumed the offensive. On the 4th of January, 48 (5th of November, 49), he embarked in transport vessels seven legions, which only formed 15,000 foot and 500 horse. Had he met the Pompeian fleet it would have been all over with him; but, as he had expected, the empty Pompeian galleys rode quietly at anchor in the roadsteads of Oricum and Coreyra; his daring stroke was well calculated. The seven legions crossed without meeting a single hostile vessel, and landed

<sup>1</sup> Dion, xli. 43; Plut., *Pomp.*, 64.



at the foot of the Acroceraunian Mountains in the roadstead of *Palcassa* (Paljassa). "They found he had arrived before they heard he had started." Pompey's admiral was the unfortunate *consularis* whom fortune always opposed to Caesar, and whose fate it was to be always outwitted by him. Bibulus, hastening up too late, avenged himself on the vessels which Caesar sent back empty to embark Antony and the remainder of his troops at Brundisium; he captured thirty of them, which he burnt, with their pilots and sailors. Then, in order to expiate his negligence, he refused to



Dyrrachium and neighbouring Coast.

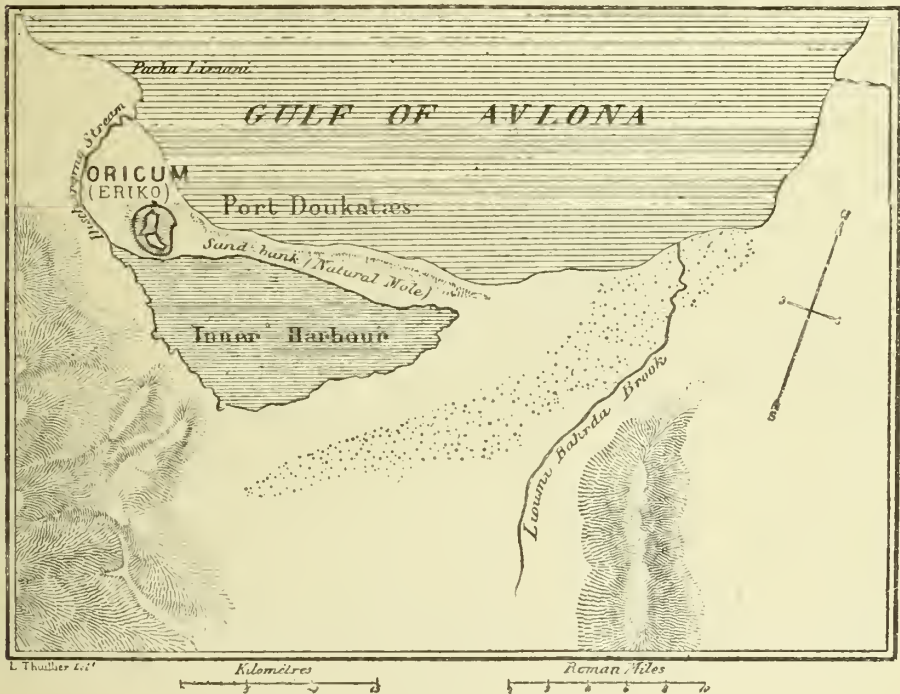
quit his vessel, and wearied himself out so much with watching sea and shore that he was seized with an illness which carried him off.

The first town Caesar came upon was *Oricum* (Eriko). The Pompeian officer in command tried to defend it, but the inhabitants declared that they could not fight a consul of the Roman people, and opened their gates; at Apollonia, on the mouth of the *Asiis* (Voiusa), the same thing happened. He attached more importance to the possession of Dyrrachium (Durazzo),<sup>1</sup> on account of its

<sup>1</sup> Dyrrachium stood at the end of a little chain of steep hills running parallel to the sea and separated from the continent by large lagoons. To the north, a strip of sand connected these

harbour, which was the best on that coast, and its strong position. Learning that Pompey had forestalled him by establishing his stores there, he halted on the banks of the *Apsos* (Beratino) to protect the places which had yielded to him, and the cantons of Epirus, whence he drew his supplies.

Again he proposed peace, less in the hope that it would be made than to conciliate public opinion. He wrote to Pompey; "You have lost Italy, Sicily, the two Spains, and 130 cohorts of



Plan of the Harbour of Oricum.<sup>1</sup>

Roman citizens; I have to lament Curio and my army of Africa. We both know then, that the fortune of war has various chances, and since we are still equal in force, let us submit our differences to the senate and people, and meanwhile let us disband our armies."

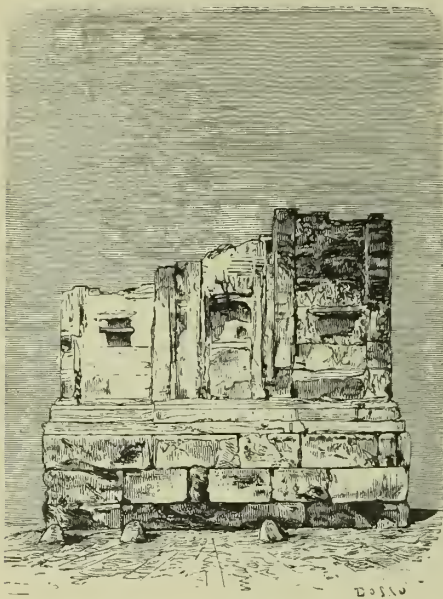
Cæsar risked nothing in making these proposals. As dictator he had filled up the number of the senate in such a way as to

cliffs with Cape Pali; to the south, the lagoons communicated with the sea by a narrow discharge-channel, so that to reach Dyrrachium by land there were but two narrow approaches easy to defend. Cæsar had established his camp on the plateau of Arapai; Pompey placed his further south. (See Henzey, *Mission archéol. en Macédoine*, p. 370 sq.)

<sup>1</sup> Henzey, *Mission archéologique en Macédoine*.

have nothing to fear from the Pompeian senators, and as consul in charge he remained master of the situation for all the year 48. Pompey however, refused, and Caesar reports some words of his which cannot have been his official answer, but which certainly

express his secret thoughts; "What will they say of me when I am seen returning without a single soldier into that Italy which I left at the head of a powerful army? And what have I to do with a country, or even with a life, which I should owe to Caesar."<sup>1</sup>



Tomb of Bibulus (Present State).

One day Vatinius, on Caesar's behalf, and Labienus, on that of Pompey, were discussing aloud, between the two armies, the conditions of an arrangement. The soldiers listened; they might perhaps take seriously the great words about an impious war and a country in tears, and compel

their leaders to treat; suddenly a shower of arrows, according to Caesar's account, came from the Pompeian ranks, and Labienus broke up the conference, crying; "Peace! you will never get it till you bring us Caesar's head." It is certain that the Pompeians, unless Caesar has maligned them, thought of massacres; a ship sailing from Brundisium having been taken at sea, all on board were butchered; Cicero's remark, quoted above, gives a colour to these stories.<sup>2</sup>



Coin of Bibulus.

Meanwhile, urgent messages ordered Antony to cross the straits with the first favourable wind; but the days passed by and

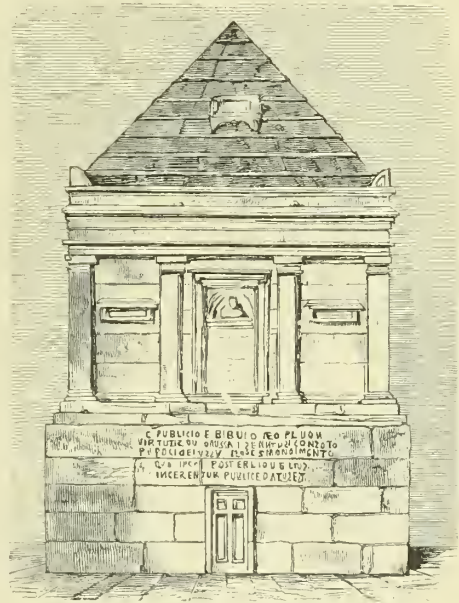
<sup>1</sup> Caesar says (*de Bell. civ.*, iii. 18) that he was informed, after the war, of these words, which doubtless escaped Pompey in intimate conversation, and were afterwards reported to the victor by one of his intimates.

<sup>2</sup> Again he says (*ad Fam.*, iv. 14); "I knew how insolent, covetous, and cruel those whose party I followed would be after the victory."



Antony did not arrive. It is related that Cæsar, little accustomed to these delays, was anxious to go himself for his legions, and that one evening he quitted the camp alone, went on board a river-craft, and ordered the pilot to sail out to sea. A contrary wind, which began to blow almost immediately, raised the waves, and the pilot, frightened at the storm, refused to proceed. "What dost thou fear?" said his unknown passenger; "thou bearest Cæsar and his fortune!" All these founders of empires believe, or pretend to believe, in a fatality which protects them until they have accomplished their work.

He was obliged however, if the anecdote is true in spite of the silence of the *Commentaries*, to return to shore; but the tempest served him on another occasion. Since the death of Bibulus, the Pompeian fleet was without a leader; by an unfortunate want of firmness, or in order not to entrust so important a command to another *consularis*, who might be less docile and less sure, Pompey allowed the eight lieutenants of Bibulus to manage their squadrons at their own will. They did not agree; the watch was less actively kept, and one day,



Tomb of Bibulus<sup>1</sup> (Restored).

when the south wind was blowing, Antony arrived off Apollonia in a few hours with four legions and 800 horse. Driven by the storm, he passed Dyrrachium, and could only land at the port of

<sup>1</sup> This tomb is not that of Pompey's admiral. The inscription engraved upon it is to the effect that the senate and people conceded, *honoris virtutisque causa*, the ground whereon the monument stood to one Bibulus, a plebeian ædile, for him and his posterity. (Orelli, No. 4698.) We know nothing of this ædile, but the Bibuli, being plebeians, doubtless belonged to this house. Was this tomb—one of the rare monuments left us of the Republican epoch—situated within or without the walls of the city? This subject has been much discussed. The inscription announces a great favour, and leads to the supposition that an exception had been made to the law of the Twelve Tables, which forbade burial in the city. But on the other hand, how is it that Cicero, who in the *de Legibus* (ii. 23), composed in 52, mentions the exceptions made to that law, does not mention this one, which hardly seems as if it could have been made later?



Nymphæum, a hundred miles at least, from Cæsar's camp. Two of his ships had been intercepted by the enemy; one of them carried 200 recruits, who, being sea-sick, yielded, and in spite of the promise that their lives would be spared, were butchered; the other carried 200 veterans; they forced the pilot to run the ship on shore, and were saved.<sup>1</sup> Pompey found himself between the two Cæsarian armies; it would have been easy for him to crush Antony. He tried to do so, with delays which allowed the two leaders to effect a junction (April, 48).

The movement of the Pompeians had led them away from Dyrrachium. Cæsar stole a march upon them, and posted himself between them and the town, which was their headquarters. They followed him and camped on Mount Petra, whence they maintained communications with the sea. Then commenced a struggle of four months' duration. Cæsar, unable to bring his rival to decisive action, conceived the bold idea of enclosing in a line of entrenched positions an army which was superior to his own in number. At Alesia and in Spain this manœuvre had succeeded, because he had been able to starve out his foes. Here that result was impossible, since the Pompeian army had command of the sea. His veterans, ever admirable, commenced gigantic works with their usual activity. Each of the hills surrounding the Pompeian camp was protected by a fort, and lines of communication connected them. Two motives had induced them to follow this plan: as the numerous cavalry of his foes rendered supplies difficult to obtain in a ruined country, he wished to shut them in, so that he might have his own movements free for foraging; and then he was anxious to show the world the great Pompey imprisoned in his camp and not daring to fight.

Napoleon has severely condemned these manœuvres; "They were extremely rash," says he, "and accordingly Cæsar was punished for them. How could he hope to maintain with advantage the long line of contravallation six miles in extent, surrounding an army which commanded the sea and occupied a central position? After immense labours he failed, was beaten,

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar adds, *Hic cognosci licuit, quantum esset hominibus presidii in animi fortitudine.* (*de Bello civ.*, iii. 28).

lost the choicest of his troops, and was compelled to quit the field of battle." Pompey opposed him with a line of circumvallation protected by twenty-four forts, and this line he constantly expanded in order to weaken his opponents' line. Every day skirmishes took place between the two armies. Once the whole of the ninth legion was engaged, and for a moment Pompey thought he had victory in his hands. But the veterans sustained their reputation and drove back the enemy. In one of these daily attacks the foe hurled so many projectiles into a fort that not a soldier was without a wound. They proudly showed Cæsar 30,000 arrows which they had collected and the shield of one of their centurions pierced with 120 darts.

It has been remarked that French soldiers have been starving when they have gained their greatest victories.<sup>1</sup> Cæsar's men were also accustomed to scarcity, caused by the rapidity and boldness of his manœuvres. Nowhere did they suffer so much as at Dyrrachium. Cæsar had certainly sent detachments into Epirus, Ætolia, Thessaly, and even Macedonia, but only rare and scanty supplies could be drawn from those countries, exhausted as they were by the presence of so many armies, for, in addition, Metellus Scipio had arrived there with his two legions. The soldiers were reduced to pounding roots to make them into a sort of paste, and when the Pompeians taunted them on the scarcity of food among them, they threw in one of these cakes, crying that they would eat the bark of trees rather than let Pompey escape. The latter had corn in abundance, but he lacked water and forage; Cæsar had diverted the streams which flowed down from the mountains, and the Pompeians were reduced to the brackish water of the sea-coast. Accordingly the baggage animals and horses died in great numbers, and the exhalations arising from so many dead bodies tainted the air and caused diseases which killed many men. At length Pompey thought he had found a favourable opportunity, and guided by deserters, he prepared a night attack, and very nearly cut off a whole legion which was encamped on the shore. Antony only succeeded in saving it after heavy losses. In order to make immediate amends

<sup>1</sup> This remark of General Foy (*Mémoires sur la guerre d'Espagne*) is flattering to our patriotism, but does not do credit either to the prudence of the generals or the foresight of the commissariat department.

for this check, Cæsar penetrated the enemy's camp at the head of thirty-three cohorts. But his right wing having mistaken the way, left between itself and the rest a gap, into which Pompey immediately threw himself; the broken ranks of the Cæsarians fled in disorder; in vain did Cæsar confront the fugitives; a panic had seized his troops; he himself was carried away, and left thirty-two standards in the enemy's hands.

That day Pompey might have ended the war. The easiness of his success made him fear an ambuscade, and he dared not follow up his victory. It was proclaimed however, as a decisive affair, and on announcing it to all the provinces, he resumed the title of *imperator*. It was said in his camp that Cæsar had decidedly gained his renown very cheaply; he could conquer barbarians, but he fled before Roman legions; it was to treason that he owed all his successes in Spain. Some prisoners had been taken; Labienus, who was anxious to prove his zeal to his new friends, claimed them, and after having marched them round his camp in derision, caused them to be put to death, saying to them; "What! my companions, have the veterans learnt to flee!" Cato had got a decree passed by the senate that no town should be plundered, no citizen put to death off the battlefield; he veiled his head that he might not see how military leaders, when once the sword is drawn, obey the decrees of the civil power (May and June, 48 B.C.).

While the Pompeians were declaring the war at an end, the Cæsarian legions, who had soon recovered from their fright, demanded the punishment of the guilty, and were anxious to return to the fight. But Cæsar had other plans; his position was no longer tenable; provisions would soon fail, and Scipio was approaching; by advancing to meet that leader he would certainly draw after him the now confident enemy, and he might perhaps find an opportunity for a battle. In any case he would gain space, collect provisions, and lead the Pompeians away from their fleet.

Leaving his wounded and sick therefore, at Apollonia, he passed through Epirus, by Gomphi, which he sacked, because it closed its gates against him, and entered Thessaly. All the towns in the valley of the Peneus, except Larissa, yielded to him, and

his soldiers found themselves in this fertile land in the midst of of an abundance which they had not known since they left Brundisium.

As he had foreseen, Pompey followed him, in spite of the advice of Afranius, who wished to return to Italy.<sup>1</sup> Cato and Cicero had been left at Dyrrachium with the baggage; the criticism and republican regrets of the one, and the peevish temper of the other, annoyed the *imperator*. Dissatisfied with himself and with others, Cicero had brought into the camp only his mocking spirit, his discouragement, and his well-founded fear of the proscriptions which would follow the victory; he regretted the laborious leisure of his villas, *Tusculanenses dies*, and he had willingly let the army depart in which he was treated as a prophet of misfortune.<sup>2</sup>

Scipio, who had been sent by Pompey into Asia to obtain soldiers and money, had lost much time in Syria and Asia Minor, living luxuriously in those rich provinces, which, if we may believe Cæsar,<sup>4</sup> had then to suffer ills almost as great as in Sylla's time. A formal order from Pompey at length obliged him to quit his headquarters at Pergamus, but he still marched slowly. His appearance during the fights before Dyrrachium might have changed into a disaster the check inflicted on the consular army. Cæsar had time to send Cassius Longinus with one legion into Thessaly to close the Vale of Tempe,<sup>5</sup> and Domitius Calvinus with two other legions into Macedonia, where he occupied in force the valley of the Haliaemon. Thence he kept watch over the great military road, the *via Egnatia*, which Scipio was following, and which would have led him from Thessalonica to Dyrrachium. The Pompeian general marched straight towards Calvinus, but on



Coin of Thessaly.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [This was the bold and right policy. But Pompey evidently felt in the East an authority he had nowhere else.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Fon.*, vi. 6, ix. 6 and 9; vii. 3; *ad Att.*, xi. 3, 4, 6, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Minerva fighting, the name of the people, ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ, and of two magistrates, ΑΛΟΥΘΕΜΙΣΤΟ.

<sup>4</sup> Certain details given by Cæsar, as the arrangements made for stealing the treasure of Ephesus (*Bell. civ.*, iii. 3), which were stopped by a letter from Pompey, are improbable. The books *de Bell. civ.* are not equal in authority to those *de Bell. Gall.*, and there is even some doubt as to the true author of the work.

<sup>5</sup> See vol. ii. p. 98.



arriving in his neighbourhood he stole a march on him, leaving his baggage behind the Cæsarians in a fortified camp guarded by eight cohorts, and he marched upon Cassius. The latter, frightened by the appearance on his rear of the Thracian horsemen of king Cotys, who seemed to have crossed Olympus by footpaths, retired from Tempe on to the heights of the Pindus range. Scipio was thus free to enter Thessaly when it suited him. But by so doing he risked giving up his line of supplies and retreat to the Cæsarians in Macedonia; he remained in that province and in the Vale of Tempe till Calvinus had struck his camp to rejoin Cæsar near the source of the Peneus.<sup>1</sup>

Pompey on his side had effected a junction with his father-in-law's legions near Larissa. He was still desirous of prolonging the war in order to exhaust his foe; but the young nobles who surrounded him thought the campaign very long, and so much circumspection made them suspicious. "If he does not decide upon fighting," said they, "it is in order to retain his command, so proud is he to drag about *consulares* and prætorians in his train." They called him Agamemnon, king of kings, and Favonius exclaimed that they would not eat figs at Tusculum that year, for Pompey would not abdicate in time. The impatience was increased by the certainty they felt of triumphing without difficulty. Already they disputed about dignities as though they had been at Rome, on the eve of the comitia, and some sent to secure the most conspicuous houses round the Forum, whence they could best solicit votes; the consuls were chosen for the following years, and the spoils of the Cæsarians divided. They would begin with a general proscription, which should be judicially carried out, as befitted men who were fighting in defence of the laws; they had even drawn up the form of sentence. They were less agreed upon the division of the booty. Fannius wanted the estates of Atticus, Lentulus those of Hortensius and Cæsar's gardens. The wisest became blind; Domitius, Scipio, and Lentulus Spinther daily entered into a sharp dispute about Cæsar's chief pontificate. The chances were even among the three candidates, for if Lentulus had his age and services in his favour, Domitius enjoyed a great influence, and Scipio was Pompey's

<sup>1</sup> See in vol. ii. the map on p. 101.

father-in-law. "Thus," said he who dispelled these vain hopes, "instead of occupying themselves about the means of conquering, they only thought of the way in which they would make use of the victory."

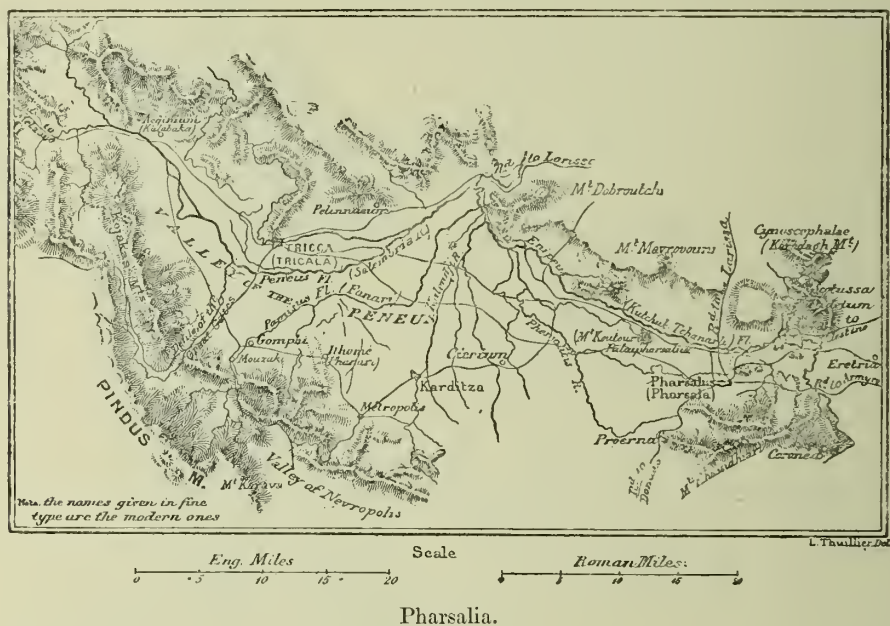
Urged on by the clamour of these nobles, whom he felt unable to reduce to obedience, Pompey decided upon giving battle near Pharsalia, in the same place where, 150 years before, Rome had conquered Greece and all the Hellenic east (Cynoscephalæ). At the sight of his cohorts deploying into the plain, Cæsar joyfully exclaimed; "At last then, the day has come when we shall no longer have to fight hunger, but men!" And he immediately went to reconnoitre the enemy's army, which was formed of 47,000 infantry and 7,000 horse, without including the auxiliaries. The right [looking eastward] rested on a stream, the steep banks of which rendered an attack difficult; accordingly Pompey had judged that position sufficiently strong to put all his cavalry on the left. Massed at that point they would easily outflank the enemy, turn their position, and assure the success of the day. Cæsar perceived his opponent's design, and it was upon this anticipated attack that he depended for his victory. He had only 22,000 legionaries and but 1,000 horse. Contrary to his custom, he drew up his army in four



Hope.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bronze figure in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3049. The head is surmounted by a flower with a broad calyx; the left hand, which should hold another flower, as in the engraving on p. 198 in vol. i., is broken. According to M. Chabouillet, the gesture of raising the skirt of the tunica was consecrated to the images of Hope.

lines of unequal extent; the first two were to attack the enemy, the third to act as reserve, and the fourth to face the cavalry who would assail his right. He warned the veterans in the six cohorts to which he assigned this duty that the victory would depend upon their courage and coolness; "Soldier," he said, "strike at the face." It is reported that he knew the young nobles who were to lead the charge would fear the deformity of a wound more than the dishonour of flight. As a matter of fact the order to reserve their *pilum* that they might strike the foe in the face was a good plan for fighting horsemen protected by defensive armour, which



the Gallic horsemen, against whom his legionaries had hitherto fought, did not possess.

Antony commanded the right wing, Sylla the left, Calvinus the centre; he himself took his place in the middle of his tenth legion, famous for the devotion it had always shown to him, and which Pompey's horsemen had promised him to trample beneath the hoofs of their horses. The watchword of his army was *Venus victrix*, the goddess whom none could resist, that of the Pompeians was *Hercules invictus*, whom twice however, by Omphale and Dejanira, Venus had overcome, as she was now to do by Cæsar.

Pompey had ordered his men to await the shock without moving,

hoping that the Cæsarians would arrive exhausted and in disorder through their haste. But when they saw their foes remain motionless, the veterans halted of their own accord, took breath, and then advanced again in line at full speed, hurled their javelins, and attacked with the sword. While the action went on along the battle-front, the Pompeian cavalry broke through that of the enemy and turned the left wing. Cæsar then gave the signal to the fourth line, which charged with such vigour that the horsemen, surprised at this unforeseen attack, turned round and fled. At the same speed the cohorts advanced upon the enemy's left, which they enveloped; Cæsar seized this moment to push forward his reserve, which was quite fresh, and the Pompeians, broken by the shock, fell into confusion. Pompey had quitted the battlefield when he saw his cavalry repulsed, and had retired into his tent in despair. Presently he heard shouts approaching; it was Cæsar leading his victorious soldiers to the attack of the entrenchments. "What!" cried the unhappy general, "into my very camp!" He threw down the insignia of command, sprang upon a horse, and escaped by the *Porta Decumana*. In the camp they found, beneath tents decked with ivy and covered with fresh turf, tables ready laid, sideboards loaded with silver plate, amphoræ full of wine—all the preparations for a joyous feast. "And those who allowed themselves this frivolous luxury," said the victor, "dared to accuse of effeminacy this army of Cæsar, so poor and so brave, which had always lacked necessaries" (9th of August—6th of June, 48).

In spite of Cæsar's efforts to stop the slaughter, 15,600 men were slain, but only one leader; Domitius perished in his flight.<sup>1</sup> "They would have it so," said he, as he passed over this field of slaughter. "After all I have done for the Republic I should have been condemned as a criminal had I not appealed to my army."<sup>2</sup> His clemency did not fail. As soon as success was assured, he forbade the slaughter of a single citizen, and pardoned all captives

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar gives the number of Pompeians slain as 15,000; Asinius Pollio only reckoned 6,000; but doubtless he omitted the allies, "who were not counted," says Appian (ii. 82). The same historian gives ten senators and forty knights among the Pompeian dead.

<sup>2</sup> Words gathered by Asinius Pollio, who was present at the battle, and reported by Suetonius. Dion asserts (xli. 62) that he caused to be put to death those who, having once taken up arms and been pardoned by him, were found among the captives, but that he granted each of his friends the pardon of one Pompeian.



who implored his pity. Even those who had already experienced it only required an intercessor to be again pardoned. In Pompey's tent he found correspondence, which might have yielded him very useful revelations, but he burnt it without reading it. History regrets that he was not more curious. The peoples and princes who had sided with his rival trembled; he reassured them. The Athenians, little fitted for these combats of giants, had come and lent their feeble aid to Pompey instead of accepting the neutrality offered them by both parties. Cæsar was anxious to win over the town "which knew how to talk;" when the deputies appeared as suppliants before him, he contented himself with saying; "How often has the glory of your fathers already saved you."

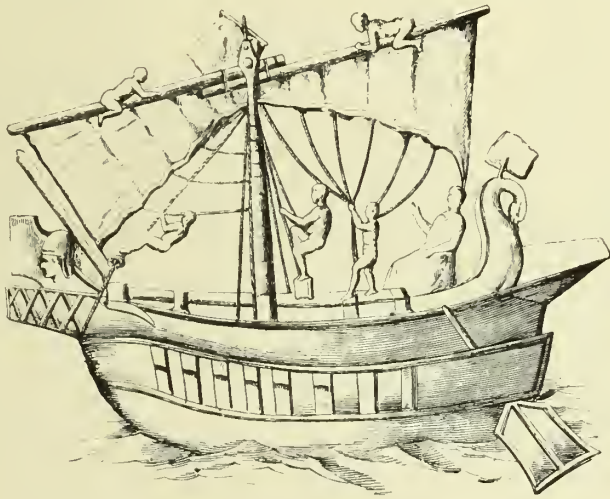
Without giving his troops time to pillage the riches scattered through the Pompeian camp, Cæsar led them onwards in pursuit of the enemy, the last remnants of whom he surrounded upon a mountain; 24,000 men were taken prisoners. On the morrow the whole army decreed the prize of valour to Cæsar, to the tenth legion, and a centurion. At the moment of giving the signal for battle Cæsar had recognized this veteran and called him by name, and had said to him; "Well, Crastinus, shall we beat them?" "We shall win with glory, Cæsar," he had replied, in a loud voice, "and to-day you will praise me, living or dead." With these words he had advanced, and 120 men of the cohort had dashed forward with him. After some brilliant feats he had fallen. Cæsar had his corpse sought out and erected a special tomb for him beside the trench where the other dead were laid.

#### V.—DEATH OF POMPEY.

Pompey had made a great blunder in separating himself from his fleet and accepting battle in the middle of the Grecian continent; another blunder was not to secure a place of refuge in case of defeat.<sup>1</sup> But such was his confidence that he had not appointed any rallying place, so that all had dispersed haphazard, and of all that powerful army there remained only the dead and

<sup>1</sup> [There must have been ample time to bring his fleet round Greece, and anchor it near Pharsalia.—*Ed.*]

the suppliants. The leader himself, wholly occupied in saving his own life, fled towards the Vale of Tempe, and the two Lentuli who accompanied him saw the conqueror of Mithridates, of the pirates, and of Sertorins, driven by thirst, drink the water of the river from the hollow of his hand like a mountain shepherd. Having reached the sea-coast, he passed the night in a fisherman's hut, and in the morning was taken up by a merchant vessel which had cast anchor at the mouth of the Penens. A few minutes afterwards king Dejotarus appeared on the shore making desperate signs. The skipper received him also on board and hastened to set sail. Pompey made him steer for Mitylene, where he took up his

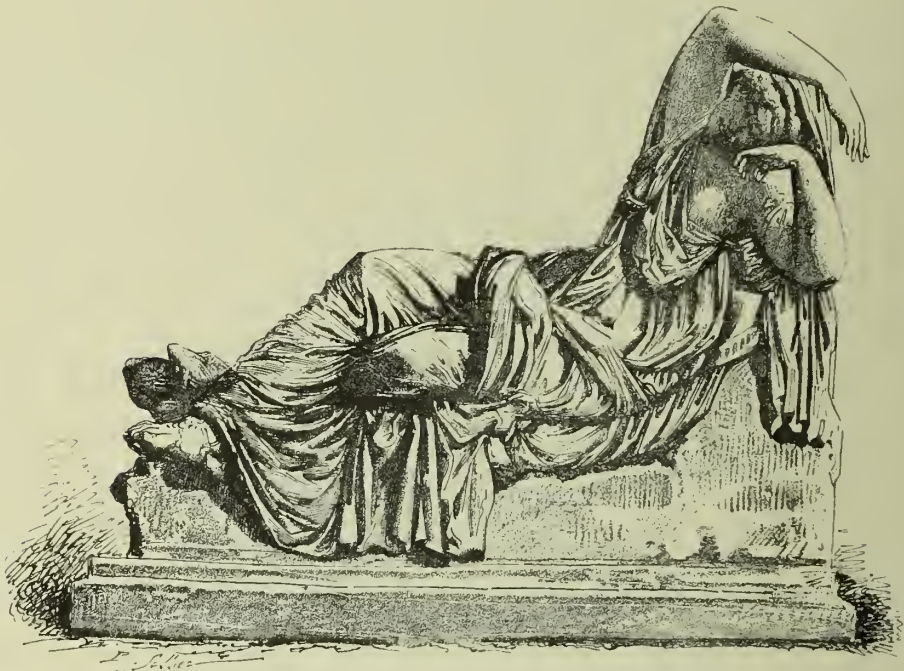


Merchant Vessel (on the Tomb of a Merchant at Pompeii).

wife Cornelia; then he drew southward by the sea of the Sporades, "which he had formerly crossed with 500 galleys."<sup>1</sup> The report of his defeat had preceded him, and in these islands, this province of Asia which he had thought were so devoted to his cause, no one showed any anxiety to give him aid; even at Rhodes he could only stop for a very short time. On the coasts of Caria and Lycia, the scene of his former exploits, there were rich cities, Aphrodisias, Telmessus, Patara, which gave him a little money; Cilicia furnished him with ships and a few soldiers. But whither should he go? It is said he thought of fleeing to the Parthians, and that Antioch, which had declared for Cæsar, having closed the desert road against

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch (*Pomp.*, 74) puts these words in the mouth of Cornelia.

him, he had decided on seeking an asylum in Egypt. He had no other course open to him.<sup>1</sup> The reigning king, whose father, Ptolemy Auletes, had been under obligations to him, was his ally; sixty Egyptian vessels had joined the senatorial fleet in the Adriatic, and after the expedition of Gabinius there had remained in Egypt a few thousand Pompeian soldiers who had not yet forgotten their old general; and finally, the country was easy to



Statue, said to be of Cleopatra, from the Vatican <sup>2</sup> (Museo Pio-Clementino).

defend, and he could thence communicate with the Parthians if it were necessary, and certainly with Varro and Juba, who were masters of Numidia and Roman Africa.

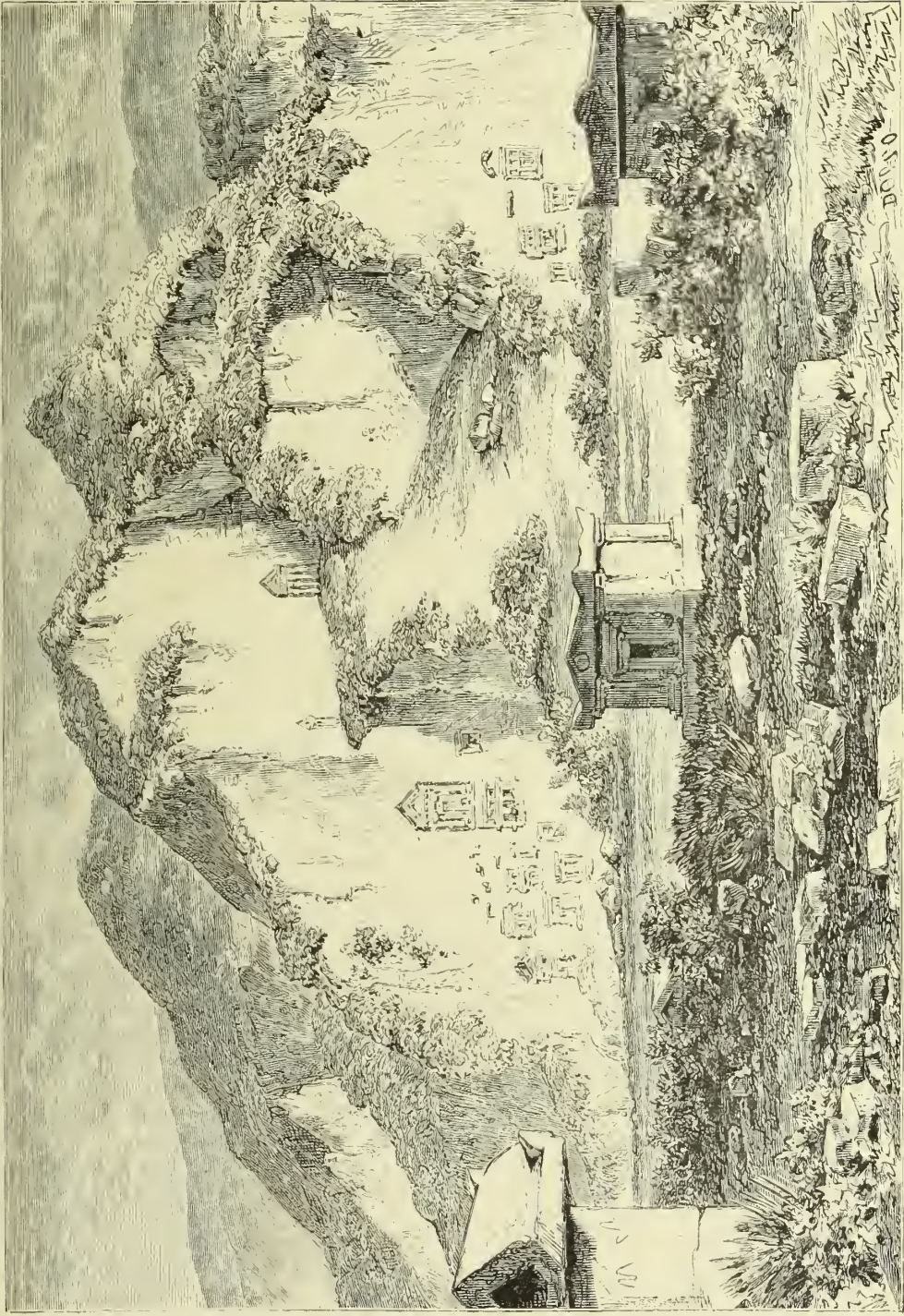
Pompey arrived in view of Pelusium followed by about 2,000 men. According to the will of the late king, Cleopatra was to marry her brother Ptolemy Dionysius, two years younger than herself,<sup>3</sup> and reign conjointly with him under the tutelage of the

<sup>1</sup> He had already solicited the alliance of the Parthians, but his ambassador had been cast into prison by them. (Dion, xlii. 2.)

<sup>2</sup> She was born towards the close of 69 B.C., and was consequently nearly twenty-one on Cæsar's arrival.

<sup>3</sup> This statue, which has often been taken for a Cleopatra on account of the serpent's-head





Telmessus (Macri): Tombs hewn in the Rock (Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie mine.*, vol. iii, pl. 5), p. 329.





senate. But at the end of three years the young queen had been driven out by the general Achilles and the governor of king Theodotus ; she had withdrawn into Syria, and Ptolemy had collected an army at Pelusium to stop the expedition his sister was preparing against him. When the vanquished Pompey appeared, Pothinus and Achilles were of opinion that he should be received with honour. Theodotus rejected the idea of uniting the destinies of the king and country with the lot of a fugitive, and a boat was sent to the vessel under pretence of taking the general to the king.



Coin of  
Pelusium.<sup>1</sup>

“When the boat approached, Septimius was the first to rise to his feet and salute Pompeius, in the Roman tongue, with the name of *imperator*, which is to say, sovereign-captain, and Achilles also saluted him in the Greek tongue and asked him to come into his boat, because all along the coast was much mud and many sand-banks, so that there was not water enough for his galley ; but at the same time several of the king’s galleys were seen afar that were being armed with all diligence and all the coast covered with men-of-war, so that when Pompeius and they of his company would fain have changed their minds they could no longer have done aught to escape, and moreover by showing themselves mistrustful they did but give the murderer some colour for carrying out his wicked purpose. Wherefore, taking leave of his wife Cornelia, who already before the blow fell made lamentations over his end, he commanded two centurions that they should get into the Egyptian’s boat before him, and also one of his freed



Ptolemy Auletes (from a Coin).<sup>2</sup>

bracelet worn on the upper part of the arm, is probably an Ariadne represented sleeping. In any case, the portrait of Cleopatra must not be looked for in it.

<sup>1</sup> Head of Isis surrounded by the name of the city, ΠΙΛΟΥΣΙΑ. Bronze of the time of Hadrian.

<sup>2</sup> Clarac, *Icon*. Ptolemy Auletes has on his coins the laurel wreath which he scarcely deserved.

slaves who was called Philippus, with another slave named Seynes. And as Achillas already held forth his hand from his boat, he turned about to his wife and son, and said to them these verses of Sophocles :—

“ Who entereth a prince’s palace, he  
Becomes a slave, although he enter free.”

“ These were the last words which he said to his own when he passed from his galley into the boat ; and because it was far from his galley to the dry land, seeing that none began any pleasant converse with him, he looked Septimius in the face and said ; “ It seems to me that I recognize thee, comrade, as having been formerly in the wars with me.” The other made a sign to him with the head only that it was true, without giving any other reply or acknowledgment whatsoever ; wherefore having no longer any who spoke a word, he took in his hand a little book, wherein he had written a harangue in the Greek tongue, which he wished to make to Ptolemæus, and began to read it. When they drew near land, Cornelia with her servants and familiar friends rose to her feet, looking in great distress for what would be the issue. It



Pompey.<sup>1</sup>

seemed to her that she might have good hope when she perceived many of the king’s men who appeared at the landing as if to receive and do him honour ; but at this point, as he was taking the hand of his freed man Philippus to rise more easily, Septimius came first behind him and passed his sword through his body, after which Salvius and Achillas also unsheathed their swords, and thereupon Pompeius drew his robe before his face with both hands, without saying or doing aught unworthy of him, and endured bravely the blows which they dealt him, only giving a sigh ; he was fifty-nine years of age and ended his life the day following that of his nativity. They that had remained on board the vessel in the roadstead, when they perceived this murder, made so great an outcry that it was heard as far as the shore, and quickly weighing the anchors, they set

<sup>1</sup> *Trésor de Numism.*, pl. 1, No. 3.

sail to flee, wherein the wind helped them, which forthwith rose fresh as soon as they had gained the open sea, so that the Egyptians who were making ready to sail after them, when they saw that, desisted, and having cut off the head, cast the trunk of the body out of the boat, exposed to whosoever desired to see so miserable a sight.

“Philippus, his freedman, remained near until the Egyptians had sufficiently looked upon it, and then having washed it with sea-water and wrapped it in his own poor shirt, since he had nothing else, he sought along the shore, where he found some remains of an old fishing-boat, the pieces whereof were very old, but enough to burn a poor naked body, and yet not altogether. Thus as he was raking them together and collecting them, there came by a Roman, an old man, who in his young days had been in the wars under Pompeius; and thus he asked him; “Who art thou, my friend, who makest this preparation for the funeral rites of the great Pompeius?” Philippus replied that he was his freedman. “Ah,” said the Roman, “thou shalt not have that honour alone, and I pray thee, receive me for a companion in so holy and pious a task, that I may not have occasion to complain wholly and altogether of having settled in a strange land, having, as a recompense for many ills which I have there endured, at least encountered this good chance, to be able to touch with my hands and help to bury the greatest captain of the Romans.” In such wise was Pompeius buried (29th of September, 24th July, 48.)

“The next day, Lucius Lentulus, knowing naught of what had happened, coming from Cyprus, went sailing along the coast, and perceived a funeral fire, and Philippus near by, whom he did not recognize at the first glance; and thus he asked him; “Who is he that, having here ended his allotted course, rests here?” But suddenly, uttering a great sigh, he added, “Alas, is it perchance thou, great Pompeius?” Then he landed where he was soon taken and slain.<sup>1</sup>

History, like Cæsar, weeps over this end of his rival. But though we grant that Pompey's services, the brilliancy of his military life, and the dignity of his private life, merit praise, we

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Pomp.* (translation of Amyot). Hadrian raised a tomb to him 160 years afterwards. (Spart., *Hadrian.*, 7.)



must nevertheless condemn the sterile ambition and perpetual indecisions of him who desired power only that "he might display his triumphal robe." Talents which were after all but ordinary are not enough to deserve the name of a statesman. A man has no right to it except on condition of having well understood the needs of his time, and consequently the approaching future; and then of having resolutely made for it. Pompey, who so often passed from senate to people and from people to senate, had never any other motive but the interest in his own greatness. From his history springs a political moral: the fugitive from Pharsalia was the deserter from all parties.

<sup>1</sup> Engraved gem in the Berlin Museum (after Bernhard Graser, *op. cit.*).



Vessel with Ensign Hoisted.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER LVII.

### THE CIVIL WAR AND DICTATORSHIP OF CÆSAR FROM THE DEATH OF POMPEY TO THAT OF CATO (48-46 B.C.).

#### I.—ALEXANDRIAN WAR (OCT. 48 to JUNE 47). EXPEDITION AGAINST PHARNACES.

CÆSAR knew how to complete his victories. Leaving Cornificius in Illyria to keep watch over Cato and the Pompeian fleet, and Calenus in Greece to reduce the nations there, he set out with two legions making scarcely a body of 3,200 foot and 800 horse, and followed Pompey's track in order not to leave him time to gather a new army. According to a very unlikely story, as he was crossing the Hellespont in a boat, he met Cassius at the head of ten Pompeian galleys and ordered him to surrender. Cassius was confounded and submitted, without its occurring to his mind that he could finish the war at one stroke.<sup>1</sup> It is more certain that Asia, which had been fearfully oppressed by Scipio, heard with joy of its new master's fortune. The victor relieved the province of a third of the taxes, allowed it to raise the tribute itself,<sup>2</sup> and made a change in the system; for the disastrous law of tithes he substituted a fixed payment,<sup>3</sup> so that there remained for the publican only the raising of some indirect taxes of little importance; he reckoned upon certainly finding and appropriating in Egypt the money which he was unwilling to demand of exhausted Asia.

A few days after the death of Pompey he arrived before

<sup>1</sup> This is the account given by Appian and Plutarch. That of Cicero (*Philipp.*, ii. 11) is more credible[?]. Cassius, he says, waited for Cæsar at the mouth of the Cydnus in order to kill him, and the latter only escaped by chance.

<sup>2</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Dion, xlii. 6. Perhaps he made the same change in Sicily.

Alexandria with thirty-five vessels and 4,000 men. When Theodotus presented to him the head of his rival, he turned away his eyes in horror and ordered them to bury the sad remains in a chapel of Nemesis which he built at the city gates.



Nemesis, Retributive Justice.<sup>2</sup>

The king's ministers felt hurt at the honours paid to their victim, and seeing Cæsar so poorly attended, they forgot that they had before them the master of the world. The Egyptian soldiers were secretly encouraged to cry out when the lictors passed that their presence was an outrage upon the royal majesty. Every day disturbances took place in which some legionaries were slain. When the consul, to pay his troops, claimed the payment of an old debt of Ptolemy Auletes, amounting to ten million sesterces,<sup>1</sup> Pothinus disdainfully replied that Cæsar still had very

great matters on his hands, that it would be better to start as quickly as possible to terminate them, and that on his return he would certainly receive, with the king's good grace, all the money which was due to him. This language was too clear; but Cæsar neither

<sup>1</sup> See p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> A statue in the Louvre. The right arm thus bent is the characteristic attitude of this goddess, because it represented a *cubit*, a measure which was taken allegorically to measure punishment or recompense. The horn of plenty symbolizes the blessings which the goddess assured to the just. The head is ancient, but set on later, as also the horn of plenty. (Clarac, *Descript. des Antiq.*, No. 318.)

could nor would depart. The ancients said that from November to March the sea was closed.<sup>1</sup> The Etesian or north winds which blow with violence in the Archipelago, interrupted the navigation between Egypt and Greece, and condemned the conqueror of Pompey to remain at Alexandria.<sup>2</sup> He had the interests of Rome too much at heart not to make use of his enforced stay to regulate



Plan of Alexandria.

Egyptian affairs in the interests of the Republic; and the interests of the Republic required that Pompey's assassins, who took such a high hand with Cæsar, should cease to be masters of that wealthy

<sup>1</sup> Vegetius, v. 9; *maria clauduntur*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ipsæ enim necessario etesiis tenebatur, qui navigantibus Alexandria sunt adversissimi venti.* (*de Bell. civ.*, iii. 107.) The sailors still say: "In the Mediterranean there are only three good harbours, June, July, and August." See p. 299, how Pompey at Dyrrachium counted on the winter, and p. 318, how Cato was obliged to make his fleet winter at the same season at Barca. Vegetius (v. 9) says that navigation was closed from the 16th of November to the 21st of March. At Venice, even in the sixteenth century, return voyages from the coast of Syria and of Alexandria were forbidden to the Venetian vessels from the 15th of November to the 20th of January, "in order that they may escape the perils of an imminent shipwreck in the time of the months of the raw winter" on a penalty of 500 ducats for the captains and of 1,000 for the shareholders or proprietors of the vessel." (*Law of the 8th of June, 1569, Jal, Nautical Glossary*, vol. ii. p. 1045.) Admiral Jurien de la Gravière speaks "of the incapacity of the new navy to keep the sea in winter." If our ironclads must go into harbour in the bad season, *a fortiori* was it a necessity for the galleys of the ancients.



kingdom. He invited Cleopatra to come to him. "She set out with only Apollodorus, her confidant, and arrived before the palace at night. As she could not pass the threshold without being recognized, she wrapped herself up in a bundle of wearing apparel which Apollodorus fastened with a strap and carried to Cæsar. This young woman, who had just raised an army to obtain justice for herself, and who so boldly answered his call, seemed to him the very ally he needed. In the name of Rome, who had received the guardianship of this divided royal race, he compelled Dionysus to be reconciled to his sister."<sup>1</sup> Plutarch looks upon this adven-



Ptolemy Dionysus.<sup>3</sup>

ture only in the light of a love affair; I see in it also and more especially a political transaction. The ministers quickly saw that their ruin was the pledge of this reconciliation. With a view of breaking it off, they persuaded the young Ptolemy to escape from the palace and call the people to his aid. The Romans again seized the fugitive prince; but this attempted escape excited a rising in the town, which Cæsar endeavoured to pacify by reading to the people the will of the late king, Auletes, and by declaring that in his position of guardian he ordained that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign together.<sup>2</sup>

The insurrection came to nothing; Pothinus even appeared to resign himself, but he secretly recalled Achilles, who was at Pelusium in command of twenty thousand fairly good troops, thanks to the Roman depots which Gabinius had left behind in Egypt. Cæsar made Ptolemy forbid them to commit any violence; in answer they put the envoys to death; four thousand Romans had then to hold their own against twenty

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Cæsar*, 54-55.

<sup>2</sup> Dion, xlii. 35. Dion adds that Cæsar promised to give Cyprus to two other children of Ptolemy, a promise which was not very binding on him.

<sup>3</sup> This Ptolemy wears the ivy wreath, the attribute of Bacchus, whom the Greeks more often called Dionysus; on other coins of this prince the god's thyrsus is seen.

thousand drilled soldiers and an angry nation of three hundred thousand souls. They took possession of part of the Bruchium quarter, on the north of the Via Canopica, where stood the palace of the kings and the theatre; then they closed all the approaches in such a manner as to make of that collection of solid buildings a vast fortress which Achilles soon lost the hope of taking by storm. In order to cut off their communications with the sea, he attacked the royal fleet of which Cæsar had obtained possession, as it lay in the harbour; the Romans being unable to save it set fire to it, and the flames reached the arsenal and destroyed the famous library of the Ptolemies, which is said to have contained 400,000 volumes.

From the interior of the palace Pothinus kept up active communication with the besiegers; Cæsar caused him to be put to death, and then confined Ptolemy more closely. The eunuch Ganymede, the confidant of Pothinus, succeeded however, in escaping with the king's youngest sister, Arsinoë; he led her to the camp, where she was saluted with the name of queen. Ganymede, who was an active and intelligent man, took advantage on his own behalf of the favour of the soldiers. He got them to slay Achilles, took his place, and thought he had found an infallible means of destroying the Roman army by cutting the aqueducts which supplied their quarter with water, and by sending sea-water into their cisterns with the aid of machines. But they dug wells,<sup>1</sup> and patiently waited for the arrival of the aid which Cæsar had demanded of the Governor of Asia, Domitius Calvinus.

He was an able man, firm and just, who though he had been appointed to the post after Pharsalia had already reorganized everything. He was able to send the dictator one legion by land and another by sea, the latter of which was driven by the winds to the west of Alexandria. Cæsar went with some vessels in search of the second, and on his return defeated Ganymede who barred his way. The eunuch repaired his galleys, built fresh ones, and persisted in trying to close the sea against the Romans and starve them out. In front of the town stretched the island of Pharos, connected with the shore by a mole; Cæsar attacked it

<sup>1</sup> These wells are found all along the coast as far as the Isle of Pharos.

and succeeded in gaining possession of it. But the Alexandrians bravely continued their efforts to destroy the fleet, and one day he was so hard pressed that he only escaped by throwing himself into the sea, where it is asserted he held his *Commentaries* above



Coin of Ptolemy XII.<sup>2</sup>

water with one hand while he swam with the other. This is another legend to be suppressed: Cæsar had certainly not taken his manuscripts with him to a fight in the port of Alexandria.<sup>1</sup>

At length however, he grew alarmed about this struggle, which was making him lose precious time and run useless risks. He gave the Alexandrians back their king, in hopes of arriving at an arrangement or of sowing dissension among his enemies. This concession, which was taken as a sign of weakness, only gave them fresh vigour, and they also stopped a convoy coming from Cilicia. Fortunately Mithridates the Pergamean, who was thought to be the son of the great Mithridates, and whom Cæsar had ordered to raise troops in Syria, assembled in that province an army which was swelled on the way by a great number of Jews; for that nation saw in the conqueror of Pompey the executor of Jehovah's decrees against the man who had violated the Holy of Holies.<sup>3</sup> The Pergamean reached Pelusium at the end of January, 47; the town, though strong and well guarded, was carried by an impetuous attack.

There are two keys to Egypt, says the author of the *Alexandrian War*; one is at Pharos, the sea gate; the other at Pelusium, the land gate. Cæsar held one, Mithridates had just taken the other, which secured his communications; he could therefore plunge fearlessly into the country. He ascended the east bank of the Pelusiæ branch, and in a sharp engagement, the chief honour of which fell to Herod's father, he drove into the river an Egyptian army which attempted to stop him. This success facilitated the passage of the Nile, which he effected between the

<sup>1</sup> Appian (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 150) says that, in order to avoid being observed by those in pursuit, he swam under water, only rising to the surface to take breath.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy XII., or Dionysus, as Bacchus. M. Bompais has recently maintained that this coin represents Ptolemy IV. On the reverse an eagle on a thunderbolt.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. ii. p. 831—832.

upper point of the Delta and Memphis. Many Jews dwelt in that town. Letters from the high priest Hyrcanus had led them to join Cæsar's party; and they furnished Mithridates with auxiliaries, provisions and information. Such was the number of the circumcised in this army that the place where the decisive battle took place retained the name of the Jews' Camp.<sup>1</sup>

On hearing of the approach of the army of relief, Cæsar had issued from his Alexandrine fortress, and turning westward, whilst Ptolemy with his fleet ascended the Canopic branch, he had forestalled the Egyptians, though his route was the longer one, and effected a junction with Mithridates. The king placed his camp on a hill in the Libyan chain, which terminates at the Nile near Chom-Cherik, at the spot where five centuries before Amasis had won Egypt from Apries, and where, seven centuries later, Amrou won it from the Alexandrians. A decisive battle ensued, in which the Egyptians were defeated. In the fray the king was drowned, and a rich booty rewarded the legionaries for their long patience. Egypt accepted Cleopatra as queen, and she married the last of her brothers, Ptolemy Neoterus, whilst her sister Arsinoë was sent captive to Rome.<sup>2</sup>

Having come gloriously out of this severe trial, Cæsar remained two or three months longer in Egypt. He is blamed for this stay; Cleopatra, it is said, bewitched him with all the seductions of wit and beauty; splendid like a daughter of the East, and passionate like a child of Ionia, the siren detained the hero. If Cæsar loved pleasure, he loved still more his glory and his fortune, which so ill-timed a passion would have compromised.<sup>3</sup> After passing eleven years in the tent, he doubtless had a right to a few days' repose, but the time for repose had not yet come, for his foes were collecting a powerful army in Africa and beating the Cæsarians in Illyria; a new Mithridates was appearing in Asia; troubles were rising in Spain and revolutionary passions breaking out at Rome and in Italy. With such a man things must be looked at from their serious side; if he did not quit Egypt sooner, it was at first

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xiv. 14.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription (*C. I. L.*, i. p. 390) allows us to fix Cæsar's return to Alexandria, after the victory of the Nile, on the 27th of March, 47 B.C.: . . . . *Cæsar Alexandriam recepit.*

<sup>3</sup> Cæsar was then fifty-five.



because it had been difficult for him to leave it, and afterwards



Cleopatra and Cæsar honouring the gods of Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

impose upon turbulent Alexandria the acceptance of its condition



Pharnaces II. King of Pontus.<sup>3</sup>

because he was detained there by the interest of Rome far more than by the love of a woman. Led into the country by the desire to bring the war to a close, he had found a nation in revolt against the guardianship of Rome. Every day he had passed on that coast had been a day of combat for him, and as opinion was a great force even in those times, he had been unwilling to quit Egypt as a fugitive. After the victory it was necessary to remain still in order to impose upon turbulent Alexandria the acceptance of its condition as a vassal city, to ensure the safety of the two legions he left there, strengthen the authority of the kings he had just given it, and appease the popular resentment by paying homage to the gods of the country. It was not simply to please Cleopatra that he had resolved upon this solution of the Egyptian question.<sup>2</sup> To make this wealthy country into a province would have been to expose the proconsul sent thither to dangerous temptations; Augustus and the emperors for two centuries thought as Cæsar did on this subject.<sup>4</sup> It was better to have native

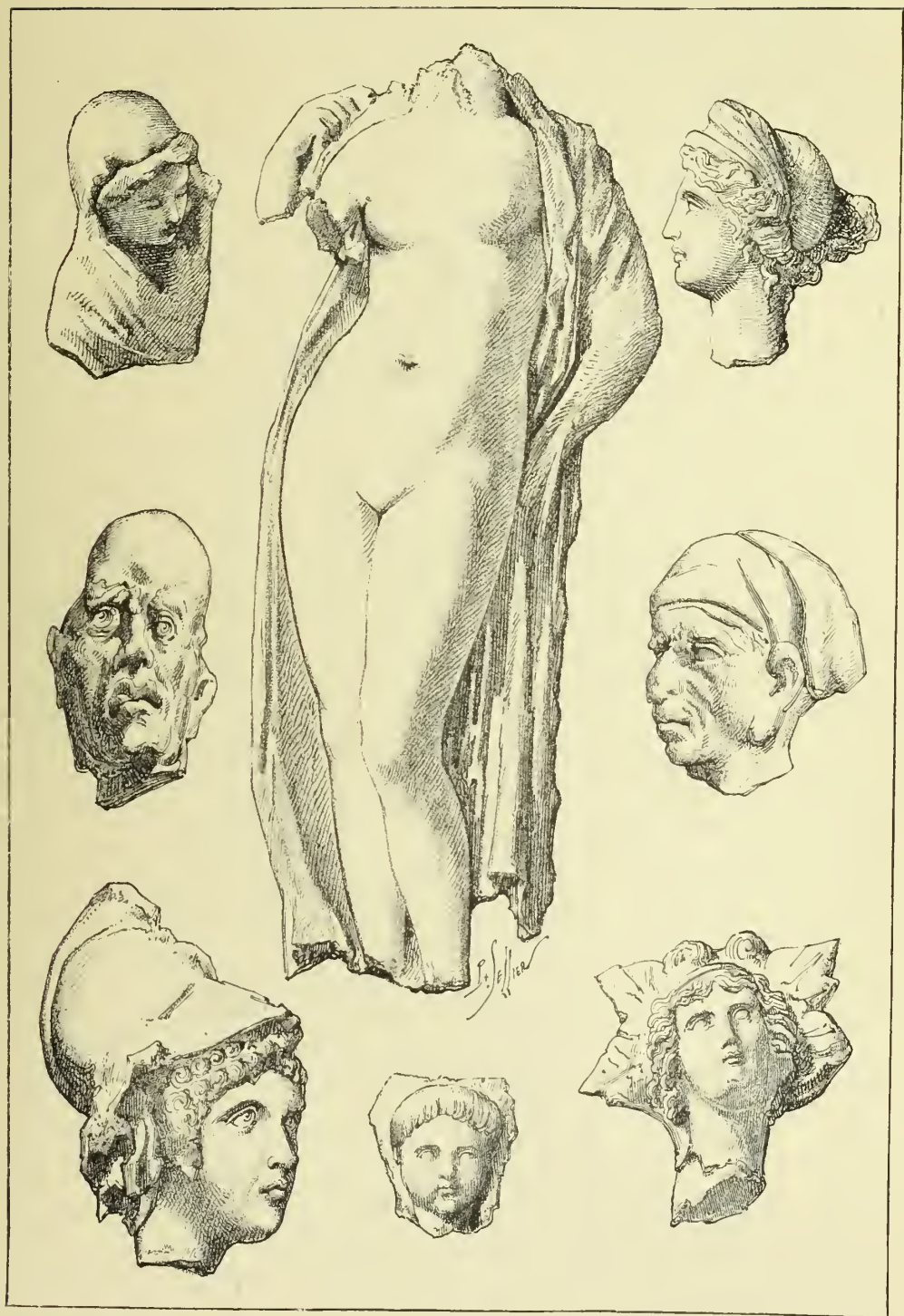
princes who would be useful without ever being dangerous. But

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief from the temple of Denderah, representing Cleopatra and Cæsar making offerings to Hathor. (After Rosellini, *Mon. stor.*, ii. 406.)

<sup>2</sup> Shortly after Cæsar's departure, Cleopatra was delivered of Cæsarion, and this birth was according to custom represented on a temple, that of Hermontis, near Thebes. (Cf. Champollion, *Monum.*, pl. 145-148, and Maspero, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1878.) Cæsar never paid any heed to this child, and did not mention him in his will.

<sup>3</sup> From a gold coin of that prince. (Clarac, *Icon.*, pl. 1031, No. 2984.)

<sup>4</sup> . . . *Veritus provinciam facere, ne quandoque violentiorem præsidem nacta, novarum rerum materia esset.* (Livy, *Epit.*, cxii.) The commander of the troops which he left in Egypt.



Terra Cotta Fragments found at Tarsus and now in the Louvre.



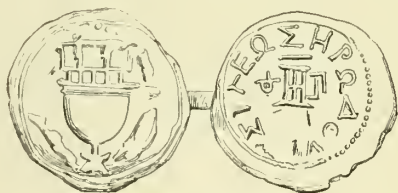
it was needful to accustom the people to fear these kings imposed on them by foreigners, and this necessary protectorate required the strong hand of the dictator to take and retain the reins for some time.

Urgent despatches summoned him to Rome, but Asia Minor was threatened by the king of the Bosphorus. Between private interest and that of the Republic he did not hesitate; instead of setting sail for Italy he resolved to stop the advance of Pharnaces, even if he should have to penetrate the heart of his kingdom in search of him.

This son of Mithridates, whom Cæsar had made king of the Bosphorus, had taken advantage of the civil war to regain Pontus, and drive out Dejotarus and Ariobarzanes from Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia. The governor of the province of Asia had been beaten in endeavouring to defend those two princes, and Pharnaces, having gained possession of the greater part of his father's former kingdom, there perpetrated fearful cruelties, leading the publicani captive, and slaying or mutilating the Romans who traded in those regions. Cæsar passed rapidly through

Coin of Hyrcanus II.<sup>1</sup>

Palestine and Syria. In Judæa the weak Hyrcanus II., the last of the Maccabees, reigned nominally, but actually the power was in the hands of his minister, the Idumæan Antipater. Cæsar recognized the former as the political and religious head of his nation, but he left the real power to the latter, whom he made a Roman citizen and procurator of Judæa. Of the two sons of Antipater, Phasaël, the elder, obtained the government of Jerusalem; the second, Herod, that of Galilee. These judaïsing Edomites founded their fortunes on the ruins of those of the Maccabees and cemented them by the friendship of Cæsar, which the first emperors continued.

Coin of Herod.<sup>2</sup>

the son of one of his freedmen, was of too lowly a condition not to be faithful. (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 76.)

<sup>1</sup> A horn of plenty. On the reverse, a Samaritan inscription. Bronze coin of Hyrcanus II.

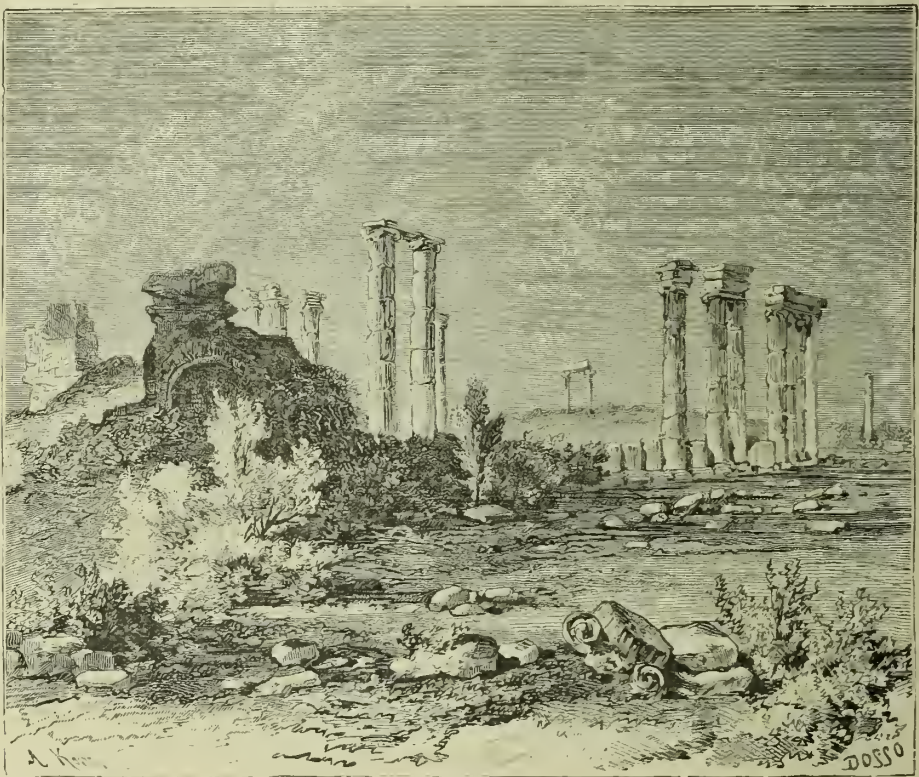
<sup>2</sup> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ (Herod, king); an altar and two Samaritan characters. On the reverse, a vase. Bronze coin of Herod the Great.



Antioch had been well treated by Pompey; when he made Syria a Roman province he had granted that town autonomy. But the inhabitants of the voluptuous city bore gratitude lightly; on the news of the disaster of Pharsalia they had gone over to the stronger side. Cæsar bore this in mind and renewed in their favour

Coin of Tarsus.<sup>1</sup>Coin of Tarsus.<sup>3</sup>

the decree guaranteeing their independence; then he rapidly reached

Ruins of the Temple of Aphrodisias.<sup>2</sup>

Tarsus, where he had beforehand convoked deputies from Cilicia and the neighbouring countries. He took cognizance of all disputes, rewarded and punished, bestowing much in the way of privileges, demanding little except money, which these wealthy

<sup>1</sup> ΤΕΡΣΙΚΟΝ; head surmounted by turret, no doubt a personification of the town. On the reverse, Hercules strangling the lion. Silver coin of Tarsus.

<sup>2</sup> Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie min.*, vol. iii. p. 150.

provinces were well able to provide. We still have a decree recording his favours to Aphrodisias of Caria, which he declared



Coin of Comana.<sup>1</sup>

free and exempt from taxation. Many cities participated in these bounties which burdened the future, but served the present, because they were bought for ready



Coin of Aphrodisias.<sup>2</sup>

money.<sup>3</sup> Order having been promptly restored in these disturbed countries, he crossed Cappadocia by great marches, halted two days



Asander, King of Pontus.<sup>4</sup>



Dynamis, wife of Asander.<sup>5</sup>

at Mazaea, its capital, re-established Ariobarzanes, and bestowed upon a descendant of the royal family the office of high priestess at the temple of Bellona at Comana. Dejotarns who with his title of tetrarch possessed almost the whole of Galatia, and with that of king, Lesser Armenia, came to meet Cæsar without his insignia and as a suppliant. He had fought for Pompey at

<sup>1</sup> COL. AVG. COMANA : the goddess of Comana in a temple. Bronze piece of Comana. (Cf. vol. ii. pp. 804 and 836, two other coins of this town.)

<sup>2</sup> Head of Juno. On the reverse, ΠΑΡΑΣΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΕΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ; eagle on a thunderbolt. Silver coin showing the close alliance between Aphrodisias and Parasa.

<sup>3</sup> I think at least, that we must thus understand these words of the decree : " On account of services rendered to Cæsar." These towns could only have served him in such a manner.

<sup>4</sup> From a gold coin.

<sup>5</sup> From a coin. This princess, a daughter or granddaughter of the great Mithridates, married, after Asander's death, Ptolemon I., king of Pontus.

Pharsalia, and expected to expiate bitterly his bad guess at the winning side. According to ancient customs this imprudence should have cost him his States and perhaps his life; he got off with some reproaches, a fine, and the loss of a few districts. Cæsar restored to him the royal insignia.<sup>1</sup> In Pontus, Pharnaces tried to negotiate; Cæsar was not the man to be deceived by the duplicity of a barbarian; he marched forward, though he had few men with him; only one legion of veterans reduced by fatigue and fighting to a thousand men, the two legions of the province of Asia which Pharnaces had beaten, and a few troops belonging to Dejotarus. But with him recruits soon became valiant soldiers, and before him the enemy quailed. This time however, Pharnaces, who boasted of having won twenty-two battles, dared to wait for the Roman army and attacked it. Cæsar smiled at this boldness.<sup>2</sup> A single engagement reduced the son of Mithridates to flee with a few horsemen right to the Bosphorus; he was there slain by Asander, who had married his sister Dynamis, and who took his place. In five days this war was brought to a close.<sup>3</sup> "I came, I saw, I conquered," wrote Cæsar to one of his friends at Rome. He gave the kingdom of Pharnaces to Mithridates the Pergamean, who had so ably led the Egyptian expedition; and as he could not secure him the immediate possession of it, he added to this eventual gift the Galatian tetrarchies of Dejotarus.<sup>4</sup> "Happy Pompey," exclaimed Cæsar on comparing these Asiatic wars with his own struggle with the Gauls; "happy Pompey to have acquired so cheaply the surname of Great!" After having overthrown his rival he was spoiling his fame.

<sup>1</sup> This Dejotarus, of whom Cicero, his advocate, draws so fine a portrait, was a very bad character. Plutarch (*de Stoicæ repugn.*) represents him as a cruel despot. Of several sons whom he had, it is said he left alive only the one whom he destined to succeed him. He also slew his daughter and his son-in-law (Strabo, xii. 568); his grandson Castor accused him at Rome of having wished to kill Cæsar. These Asiatic kings were never either husbands or fathers. It is difficult to know what Cæsar left Dejotarus; Hirtius, Cicero, and Dion Cassius do not agree upon the matter.

<sup>2</sup> . . . *Iridebat inanem ostentationem.* (*Bell. Alex.*, 74.)

<sup>3</sup> The defeat of Pharnaces was on the 2nd of August (20th of May), 47 B.C. (*Kalend. Amitern.*, Orelli, *Inscr.*, ii. 397.) Cicero wrote to Atticus (xi. 21); "I do not think Cæsar will be at Athens before the 1st of September."

<sup>4</sup> Mithridates never entered into possession of his kingdom; he was defeated and slain by Asander. (Strabo, xiii. 625; Dion, xlii. 48; xlvii. 28.)



## II.—CÆSAR'S RETURN TO ROME (47 B.C.).

Affairs being settled in Asia, Cæsar at last set out for Italy, where his prolonged absence had caused great disorders, and arrived there before it was known that he had started.

These troubles were caused by a man whom we have already met, Cælius, the friend of Cicero who declares him to have been a great politician, though history only knows him as a mischief-maker. He was a witty man, amusing in society, and very sharp of tongue, who had strayed into politics when the taste for power occupied his mind with that for pleasure. Being prætor in 48, he thought himself ill-rewarded for some imaginary services. Cæsar, with great political judgment, was changing himself from popular leader and head of the army into head of the State. Cælius became a demagogue and dreamt of seeking his fortune as the leader of the poor. He promised (as prætor) his support to debtors who would not submit to the decisions of the arbiters so judiciously appointed by Cæsar in the preceding year; and as no one prosecuted himself in his court, he had recourse to extreme revolutionary means; the suspension of rent payments, and the abolition of debts. Cæsar's senate and Servilius, his colleague in the consulship, fortunately showed great decision. The consul forbade Cælius to exercise the functions of his office, and as the prætor persisted, he had his curule chair broken and himself driven from the platform, while not one voice was raised among the people in favour of this behindhand representative of by-gone tribunitian violence. After being thus publicly disgraced and abandoned by the people, the new Catiline quitted Rome, and ended like his forerunner, but with less wild grandeur. Cælius had recalled Milo, who still had a few of his gladiators with him, from Marseilles; and both together attempted to stir up a rising in Campania and Magna Græcia. But two great ambitions disputing the Empire between them were quite enough already; not the slightest attention was paid to these obscure adventurers, who perished unnoticed, one before Cosa, the other at Thurii.

During the eight months while the struggle in Greece lasted,



the city remained in cruel suspense, which was not ended by the news of the battle of Pharsalia, because all that remained of the Pompeian forces were in the neighbourhood of Italy. When the account of Pompey's death arrived, and men saw his ring which was bought by Antony, the enthusiasm hitherto uncertain and kept in reserve for the victor, burst forth round Cæsar's name. Antony took care to direct it in such a way as should further the interests of his general, who was a second time chosen dictator for a whole



Asiatic Victory.<sup>1</sup>

year (October 28); the consulship was bestowed upon him for five years, the tribunitian power for life, and the right of deciding upon peace or war, with the presidency of the comitia of election to the higher magistracies. Accordingly, as he was absent, there were only tribunes of the people elected for the year 47. Cæsar took possession of the dictatorship at Alexandria, and as there were no consuls, he entrusted the government of the city to Antony, his master of the horse. Antony, a brave but violent man, had neither the persevering energy nor the keen prudence which the circumstances demanded. The reports which soon began to circulate about the awkward position of his chief in Egypt made him undecided; he dared not withstand the agitators on whom Cæsar's death might perhaps confer the power. Cicero's son-in-law, Corn. Dolabella, ruined by debauchery, had, like Clodius, got himself adopted by a plebeian in order to obtain the tribuneship; once appointed he had brought forward again the proposal to abolish debts. Antony at first made a feeble resistance, but when he thought he had a personal insult to avenge on Dolabella, he went

<sup>1</sup> Small bronze figure found in Egypt. It has on a Phrygian cap or tiara, a lappet of which it is raising with the right hand. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3044.)

to the opposite extreme, and scenes of violence and plunder recommenced in the city,<sup>1</sup> as if to prove even to the most incredulous the indispensable need of a master. Fortunately this master was coming; Cæsar had at length landed at Tarentum in September, 47.

Contrary to the expectation of many, his return was marked by no proscription. He only confiscated the property of those who still bore arms against him, and caused that of Pompey to be sold by auction. Dolabella and Antony became the purchasers, but the latter refused to pay the price, and proudly answered, in reply to Cæsar's demands, that it was his share of the spoil. The dictator contented himself with imposing on him a partial restitution of the money; he had not a sufficiently high opinion of the men of his time to employ severity against them, which would have implied that they were capable of reform, and by nature he was averse to rigorous measures.

He increased the number of offices; some, like the prætorship, in the interests of the service; others, such as the sacerdotal colleges, in order to satisfy vain and puerile ambitions.<sup>2</sup> He doubled the number of the senate by summoning brave officers to it, as Junius Pera had done after Cannæ,<sup>3</sup> and bestowing the *laticlave* upon the most important provincial men.<sup>4</sup> The Roman nobility were naturally indignant; they called these new comers barbarians, and pursued them with sarcasms; but these so-called barbarians represented in the *Curia* a new and great idea, the unity of the Roman world.

Although it was the ninth month of the year, he held the consular comitia, and appointed Fufius Calenus and Vatinius. A few days later he got himself appointed consul for the following year with Lepidus, and at the same time he took the dictatorship.

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *Philipp.*, ii. 25; Dion, xlii. 50. In one of these riots 800 citizens perished.

<sup>2</sup> He increased the number of augurs, pontiffs, and quindecimvirs. He appointed ten prætors instead of eight. (Dion, xlii. 51.) Later on the number was raised to twelve (Pomp., *de Or. jur.*), to fourteen, and even to sixteen. (Dion, xlii. 51; xliii. 59.) Sallust, whom he appointed prætor for that year, then re-entered the senate, whence he had been expelled.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. p. 615.

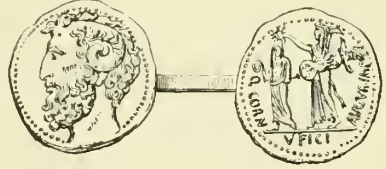
<sup>4</sup> Cæsar himself mentions two Allobrogian senators (*Bell. civ.*, iii. 59) and a Spanish one. (*Bell. Afric.*, 28.) We have seen (p. 157, note 2) that during his campaigns he kept a free table for provincials of distinction, *illustrioribus provinciarum*. (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 48.) The emperor Claudius bears witness that long before his time Vienne [in Gaul] furnished senators to the Roman *Curia*.

His partisans being now provided with appointments, dignities, and governments, he gave large presents to the poor, and granted debtors the suppression of part of the interest against them. The soldiers also claimed the fulfilment of the promises so often renewed; those of the tenth legion even went as far as to revolt openly. Cæsar heard of it, and assembled them on the Campus Martius; he repaired thither alone, mounted his tribunal, and ordered them to speak. At the sight of him the murmurs were hushed; hesitating and ashamed, in a low voice they asked to be disbanded. "I dismiss you," replied the general immediately, "go, Quirites." Cæsar had found the surest way to wound their pride; he had called his companions in arms, his soldiers, *citizens*. To make them citizens was to degrade them; they would have preferred that he should chastise them, that he should decimate them; and they urged him to retract the disgraceful name. This trait of eloquence has been much admired, but it casts a sad light upon the times; all that we have said about the transformation of political feelings is explained by the meaning now attached to those two words, citizens and soldiers, *Quirites* and *commilitones*; the civilian was no longer anything, the military was all in all; the reign of arms was drawing nigh; already their leader was unwilling, even in the interior of the city, to drop his military title of *imperator*.

### III.—WAR IN AFRICA (46 B.C.); THAPSUS; DEATH OF CATO.

This sedition being pacified, Cæsar set out for Africa. After the defeat of Pharsalia, Octavius, a Pompeian leader, had assembled a few troops in Macedonia; thence he had passed into Illyria, and had been compelled by Cornificius and Vatinius to flee into Africa, where Juba and Atius Varus commanded the only Pompeian army which could boast of a victory. The leaders assembled at Coreyra; Labienus, Scipio, Afranius, Petreius, and Faustus Sylla, son of the dictator, resolved to win that province. Cato was at Dyrrachium with a fleet and some soldiers. He offered the command of them to Cicero, who was a *consularis*, whereas he himself had only been a prætor. But since Pharsalia, Cicero had been in the greatest

distress, fearing to remain "with these mad men," ashamed to depart, and not knowing how to excuse himself to Cæsar for his flight from Italy. Cato's proposal decided him. "Was he to command, was he to fight when it was not a time to lay down arms, but to throw them away; it was mere mockery." Cneus, Pompey's eldest son, rushed upon him sword in hand, and would have slain him had not Cato protected him while he got away.

Coin of Cornificius.<sup>1</sup>

He returned to Brundisium, still accompanied by his liectors with their fasces wreathed with triumphal laurel, and stayed there for a year, cursing the Alexandrian war, the war with Pharnaces, and the slowness of Cæsar, who was now guilty of prolonging his anxieties by allowing the Pompeians time to rise again and perhaps bring about some fresh disaster.<sup>2</sup>

Cneus Pompey.<sup>3</sup>

Whilst his friends were making their way towards Utica, Cato, suspecting that Pompey had made for Egypt, resolved to lead thither to him his 300 vessels and the troops which manned them. But for the treachery of the Egyptians, these 10,000 men, finding Pompey alive at Alexandria, might have changed the aspect of affairs. He prudently led them to the coasts of the Cyrenaïca, there to gather the most trustworthy news. It was Pompey's own son who told him of the catastrophe. The only course left therefore, was to reach the Roman province of Africa. The same winds which prevented Cæsar leaving Alexandria obliged Cato to leave his fleet in the harbours of the Cyrenaïca all the winter. But in view of the urgent necessity of rejoining the army which was reforming

<sup>1</sup> Head of Jupiter. On the reverse, Q. CORNVFICI AVGVRI IMP.; Juno Sospita holding a trophy in the left hand and with the right crowning Cornificius, dressed as an augur. Gold denarius struck at Cyrene, as is indicated by the horned head of Jupiter Ammon.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *ad Fam.*, xv. 15.

<sup>3</sup> From a coin which Sextus Pompey had struck during the Sicilian war. The head of Cneus faces that of his father, and Sextus' is on the reverse of the same coin.



round Utica, he obtained supplies of water and provisions at Cyrene, and entered upon the passage through the desert of Barce. When at the end of thirty days he reached Leptis Magna, his troops were so fatigued that he was obliged to await the end of the

Coin of Utica.<sup>1</sup>Coin of Cyrene.<sup>2</sup>Coin of Barce.<sup>3</sup>

winter at that place. Indeed, he was there within call of Scipio, and secure of being able to effect a junction with him.

This *consularis*, Scipio, who bore a name of good augury in African warfare, had been recognized as the leader, but he was a very poor general.<sup>4</sup> He took as his second in command Labienus, whose skill could not make up for the unfortunate choice which had

Leptis Magna.<sup>5</sup>

been made. If at Dyrrachium and Pharsalia the Pompeians had been already divided, what was it now when the only man capable of restraining them was no more? One man however, assumed the manners of a supreme leader, and this was the barbarian king. But for Cato, all these haughty Romans would have yielded to him, even Scipio, whom Juba forbade to wear the

scarlet cloak of commanders-in-chief, because, said he, purple belonged only to kings.<sup>6</sup> He wished to sack Utica,

<sup>1</sup> Livia seated; in the field, D. D. (*decreto decurionum*), P. P. (*pater patrie*). Reverse of a bronze coin of Tiberius, struck at Utica by Vibius Marsus, proconsul.

<sup>2</sup> ΔΑΜΩΝΑΚΤΟΣ; Jupiter Ammon, full-face; beside him, a ram. On the reverse, ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΩΝ, and a woman driving a quadriga. Gold coin of Cyrene.

<sup>3</sup> ΒΑΡΚΕΙΟΣ; head of Jupiter Ammon, full-face. Silver coin of Barce.

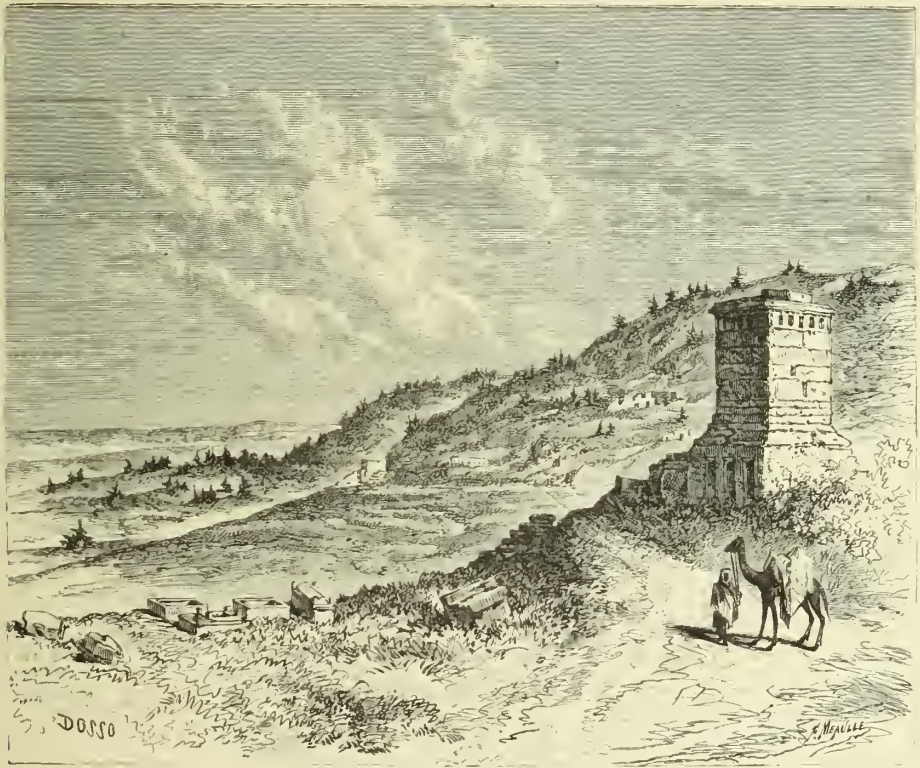
<sup>4</sup> The *Commentaries* do not mention Scipio, an obscure and despised man, whom, according to Plutarch, Cæsar pretended to put at the head of his army. We do not know who wrote the *de Bell. Afric.*, but the narrative is certainly that of an eyewitness, perhaps Hirtius, the author of the eighth book of the *Gallie War*, and less certainly, of *Alexandrian War*.

<sup>5</sup> Bacchus standing, holding a cup and a thyrsus; beside him, a panther and four Punic letters. Reverse of a great bronze piece of Augustus, struck at *Leptis Magna*.

<sup>6</sup> Plut., *Cato*, 64; Cæsar, *Bell. Afric.*, 57. According to Dion (xliii. 4), Scipio promised him the whole of Roman Africa; but this is not probable.

accusing it of being devoted to Cæsar, but in reality to destroy the Roman capital in Africa; Cato again prevented him. But Scipio was not so far-sighted; he undertook to pay the Numidian cavalry, and furthered the king's policy by devastating the province with the view of ruining the enemy beforehand.

As soon as Cæsar had a few troops ready he advanced. Once more he seemed to stake his fortune on the hazard of the die.

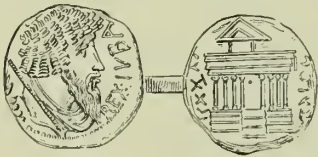


View of Cyrene.<sup>1</sup>

Again he embarked in spite of the adverse season, crossed by Malta, and after four days' sailing arrived in the neighbourhood of Hadrumentum (Souza). As he was landing he fell; it was regarded as a bad omen, but he changed it into a fortunate one; "Land of Africa," he exclaimed, "I hold thee," and his soldiers had no doubt they were going to take possession of it. Yet he had only 5,000 infantry and 150 Gallic horse (1st of

<sup>1</sup> The northern necropolis of Cyrene, after Murdoch Smith, *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*.

January, 46 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> It was a mere escort, and he ran the risk of meeting an opponent who had 60,000 men under arms, 120 elephants, and numerous cavalry. But he thought the enemy's fleet, withdrawn into their harbours, would again allow him a free passage, and his weary legions needed to be stimulated by a sense of the danger of their leader. He had too, other reasons for his confidence; the report had spread that to repay Juba for his aid, Scipio had promised to abandon the Roman province to him, and the numerous citizens who had settled there were angry at a bargain which put them under the sway of the barbarian king. Among these were some descendants of Marian veterans who, with the fidelity of the Romans to family traditions,



Coin of Juba I.<sup>3</sup>

looked upon the nephew of their fathers' general as a patron.<sup>2</sup> The Pompeians punished this sentiment as a felony, and laid waste the districts where they thought they had discovered it. Every Cæsarian who fell into their hands was put to death.

Even Cicero was indignant at these cruelties.<sup>4</sup> Notwithstanding their repeated defeats, these heirs of Sylla were animated with his spirit, and everything points to the conclusion that if they had triumphed, torrents of blood would have been shed at Rome, in Italy, and in the provinces.

This reign of terror did not ensure the fidelity of their soldiers. Their army, composed in a great measure of freedmen,<sup>5</sup> slaves, peasants, whose farms had been burnt, and provincials enrolled by force, had no consistency. The renown of their foe frightened these raw troops, who did not share the passions of

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, *Bell. Afric.*, 3. To agree with the corrected calendar we must put all these dates back a little more than two months.

<sup>2</sup> . . . *Qui sumus clientes C. Marii . . . ad te volumus in tuaque præsidia confugere.* (*Bell. Afric.*, 35.) Scipio had agreed to support the king's cavalry at the cost of the province. (*Ibid.*, 8.) Hence came levies of money which estranged the population. Moreover, in order to starve out Cæsar, the corn had been everywhere carried into the strongholds and the flat country laid waste.

<sup>3</sup> REX IVBA: bust of Juba I. with his sceptre. On the reverse, a temple with eight pillars and a Punic inscription. Silver coin of Juba I. A similar coin has just been found in Gaul, near Castres.

<sup>4</sup> *Ad Att.*, xi. 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Ex hybridis* (born of a Roman father and a foreign mother) *libertinis, servisque, conscripserat.* (*Bell. Afric.*, 19.)

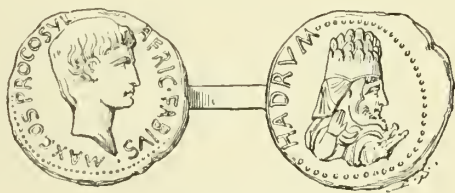


their leaders, and deserters reached Cæsar's camp in such numbers that he was able to form a whole division of them.<sup>1</sup>

Other aid unexpectedly reached him. The disorder was so great and had lasted so long in this decaying Republic, that an Italian, named Sittius, a former accomplice of Catiline, had created for himself in Africa a kind of nomadic royalty. He had gathered round him adventurers from all lands, and had formed of them a little piratical squadron, and so he wandered along the coasts or even went inland, living sometimes by plunder and sometimes on mercenary pay. Sittius was totally indifferent to the mighty quarrel which shook the Roman world, but the fortunes of the Pompeians inspired him with little confidence, whereas he had great faith in those of Cæsar, and it is impossible but that, in his wandering life, some disagreements with Juba should have drawn down upon him the enmity of that king. Sittius had a thorough knowledge of the country and correspondents in the two Numidian and Moorish kingdoms; Cæsar therefore entrusted him with the mission of persuading Bocchus to invade Juba's States when that prince should quit them in order to join his allies.

Sittius.<sup>2</sup>

The dictator counted upon taking Hadrumentum without difficulty. Considius held it with a superior force; he even threatened the Cæsarians, who retreated as far as Ruspina, harassed in their march by 2,000 Numidians. But every time the 150 Gauls of Cæsar, heavily armed, charged this light cavalry, they turned and fled. The trading cities on the coast were in favour of the man who would quickly end these interminable wars, that is to say, for Cæsar. One of them, Ruspina,

Coin of Hadrumentum.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Throughout the *de Bell. Afric.* mention is continually made of deserters going over to Cæsar.

<sup>2</sup> *SI. P. SITTIUS M . . . IVS IIIIVIR DECR. DECVR. D.* Bronze coin of Cirta.

<sup>3</sup> *Fabius Maximus*, proconsul of Africa. On the reverse, the Phœnician god Oulun, whose name the Romans rendered into *Seculum frugiferum*, the right hand raised and open in sign of benediction. Bronze, published by the *Gazette archéol.*, 1877, p. 30.



sent deputies to him; he hastened to occupy that place, which had a harbour where he could await the six legions which remained in Sicily. Still better news reached him. *Leptis Minor*, which notwithstanding its name was a rich and important city, offered him its harbour, one of the best on that coast; it was large enough for Cæsar to shelter his vessels there. Soon a convoy arrived;<sup>1</sup> others were on the way; Cæsar was about to start to meet them in order to prevent them falling into the enemy's hands, when they appeared in sight of the camp. Forthwith he resumed the offensive, and with thirty cohorts fell in with the countless cavalry



Coin of Leptis Minor.<sup>2</sup>

of Labienus at three miles from Ruspina. The latter allowed his Numidians to fight in their own way; they came within a short distance of the battle-front, shot their javelins, and then fled, drawing the legionaries after them in disorder, thus exposed to the hostile infantry. Cæsar commanded that they should not go more than four feet away from the standards.

This encouraged the foe, and Labienus taunted them as raw recruits. "Thou art mistaken," replied a soldier, "I am not a conscript, but a veteran of the tenth, and," taking off his helmet, "recognize me, or better still by this," and he



Coin of Julius Cæsar.<sup>3</sup>

hurled his javelin at him, which Labienus only avoided by making his horse rear, so that it received the weapon in the middle of its breast. The army however, drawn up in close order, was surrounded; the position no longer seemed tenable.

But it was a snare to draw the foe within reach of the javelin and sword. At a given signal the ranks opened and extended rapidly in two lines, driving back all before them. Aid brought up by Petreius led Labienus to begin the action again when

<sup>1</sup> The custom was known of giving the captains of vessels sealed orders which were only to be opened at sea after a certain time, for Cæsar was blamed for not having done so. (*Bell Afric.*, 3.)

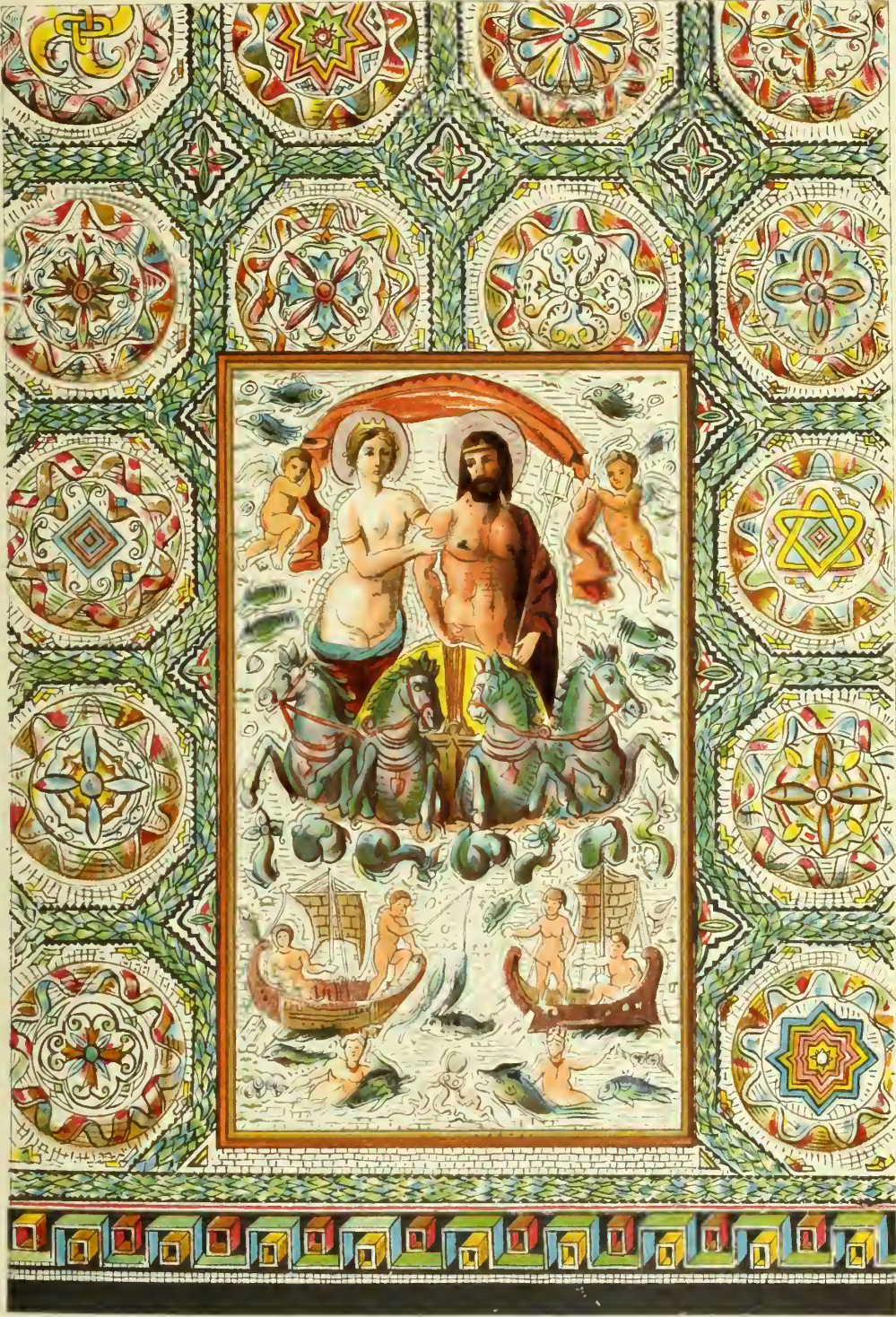
<sup>2</sup> AETHIC; bust of Mercury. Bronze coin of Leptis Minor.

<sup>3</sup> COS. TERT. DICT. ITER; head of Venus. On the reverse, AVGV PONT MAX; instruments of sacrifice. Silver coin struck before Cæsar was authorized to put his likeness on money.









Imp. Frailléry

NEPTUNE AND AMPHITRITE





Cæsar thought it was over; but a new charge swept the plain clear.

Cæsar had just run a great risk; he had extricated himself from it by his coolness and resource. But Scipio was three marches behind, at the head of eight legions and 3,000 horse; another army with 120 elephants<sup>1</sup> was coming with Juba. In order not to meet such forces in the plain, Cæsar established himself between Ruspina and the sea in a camp which he rendered impregnable, and thence he urged forward the arrival of his supports. He was beginning to suffer from scarcity, when Sallust, who was then prætor, took by surprise the island of Cereina, where the enemy's stores were, and carried off their supplies. Meanwhile Sittius had taken Cirta, the capital of Numidia, had raised the Gætuli, who never forgave Pompey for having subjected them to the Numidian kings, and by this happy diversion had recalled Juba to defend his kingdom; and finally two legions landed from Sicily.

Cæsar's situation was nevertheless very strange; military history knows of no parallel to it. Of Africa he held only the soil enclosed in his lines. He lacked everything and must create all—workshops for forging arms, yards for building machines; he dismantled several galleys in order to have the wood for making palisades, and as he had no fodder for his horses, he hit upon the idea of feeding them on seaweed well washed in fresh water. On his departure from Sicily, the fleet being insufficient, he would take neither baggage nor slaves on board, and the soldiers had brought away only their arms. A legionary tribune having disobeyed this order, he summoned him immediately on landing, and in the presence of the tribunes and centurions of the whole army, said to him; “C. Avienus, because you have been useless to the Republic and to me by filling my vessels with your attendants and horses, instead of putting my soldiers into them, I expel you from my army with ignominy,<sup>2</sup> and I order you

<sup>1</sup> The author of the *de Bell. Afric.* wonders that the use of elephants in battle had not been abandoned, experience having shown that the danger was as great for those who employed them as for the enemy. [Probably J. Cæsar had the same notions about them that Alexander the Great had, who never used them in his Indian battles. Nevertheless, Seleucus, and Antiochus Soter who defeated the Galatians with them found them very useful.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Ignominie causa.* (*Bell. Afric.*, 53.) Four other officers were also expelled that day for having shown a want of courage or of the spirit of discipline. They were immediately put

to quit Africa this very day." Never did any soldier better understand the necessity of reducing as much as possible the *impedimenta* which render armies unmanageable.

His soldiers made up for everything by their industry and activity. The Gallic war, where it had been necessary every moment to improvise camps, fortresses, fleets, bridges over great rivers, and roads across marshes, had taught them to be engineers, bridge builders, and mechanics. Thus they carried on all kinds of trades without a murmur, and they did not complain of the want



Huts formed of Boughs.<sup>1</sup>

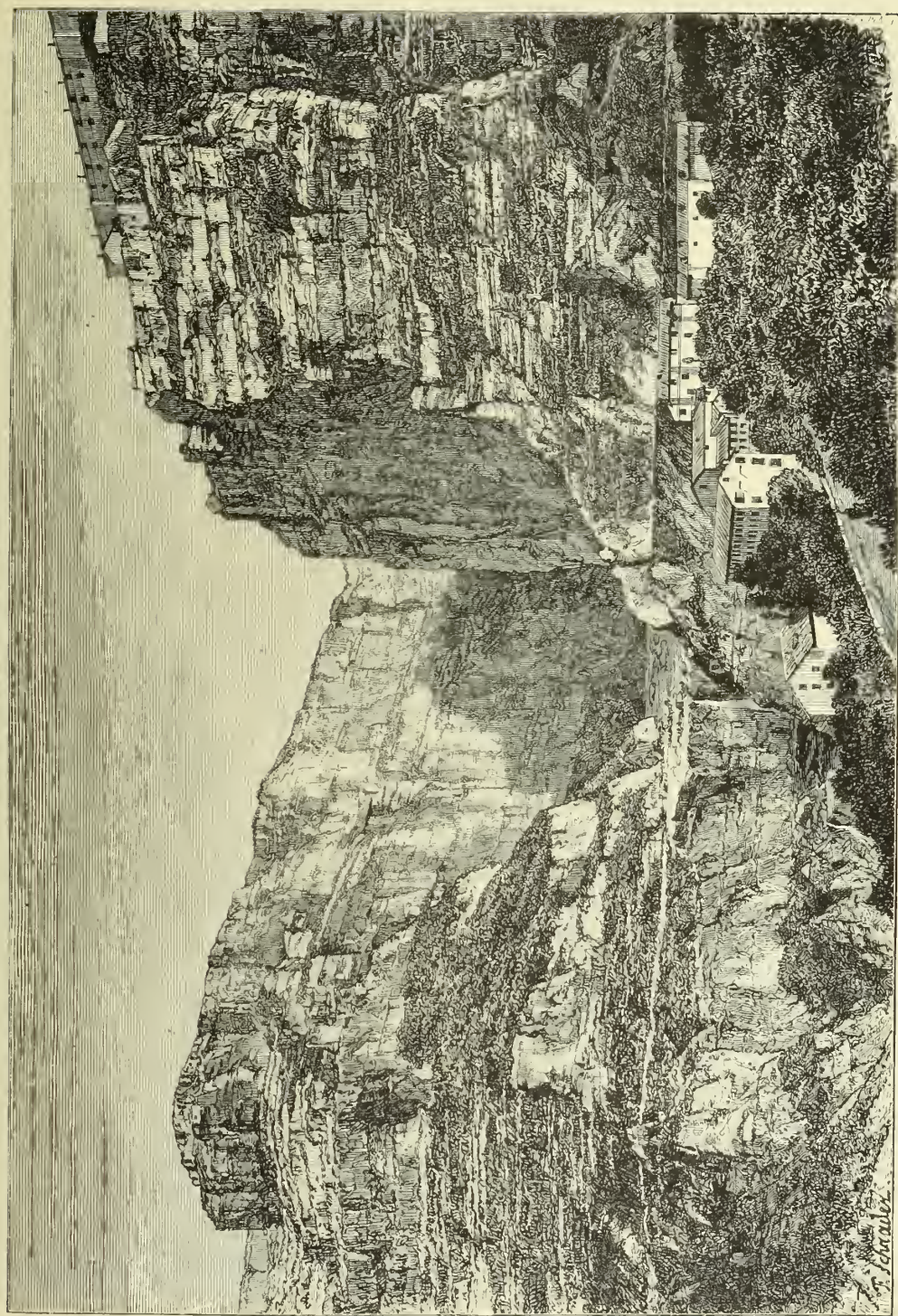
of necessities, because their general lived as they did. The Roman legionary was accustomed to lodge in camp under a tent of hides; they slept in the open air or made themselves huts of rushes and boughs, and when there arose one of the violent storms of Africa, they laughed and took shelter beneath their shields.<sup>2</sup> But there

on board ship, and each might only take a single slave with him. The punishment was not on the whole very severe, and this narrative of an eyewitness contrasts with the severities which Dion Cassius imputes to Cæsar.

<sup>1</sup> Huts made of boughs, still used in Algeria. From a photograph.

<sup>2</sup> . . . *Arundinibus scopisque contextis . . . sentis capita contegebant.* (*Bell. Afric.* 47.) In Spain in the following year Cæsar's soldiers had still only *casas que stramentitiæ . . . libernorum causa, edificatæ erant.* (*Bell. Hispan.* 16.)



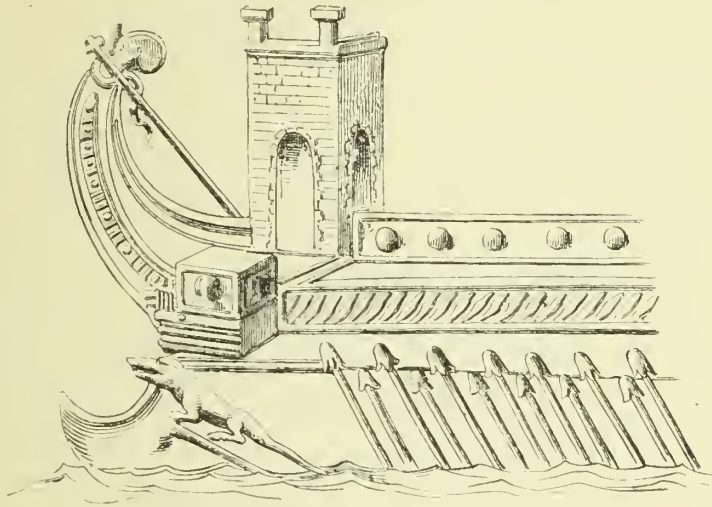


The Ravine of Rummel near *Cirta* (Constantine) (Delamare, *Explor. scient. de l'Algérie*, p. 559).





was no delay in the manœuvres; the camp was struck or pitched with the greatest rapidity, and Cæsar could deploy these men, ever on the alert, in the plain within range of the enemy. One day, in less than half-an-hour, they made a ditch and rampart to protect themselves against Scipio's cavalry.<sup>1</sup>

Bireme with a Tower in the Prow.<sup>2</sup>

That methodical general had not known how to profit by the advantages offered him by Cæsar's temerity, the superiority of his fleet, and his numerous army;<sup>3</sup> he wanted to reduce his formidable adversary by starvation, and in order to allow Juba time to join him with three legions, his only care was to avoid the battle which Cæsar urged. Two months passed in marches and campings without any result in the narrow space enclosed between the towns of Leptis, Ruspina, Achilla, and Agar, which Cæsar held, and Hadrumentum, Thapsus, Uzita, and Thyssrus, occupied by Scipio.<sup>4</sup> It was not Cæsar's custom to remain so long in the vicinity of the enemy without finding

Coin of Achilla.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> . . . . *Ea minus semi hora effecit* (*Bell. Afric.*, 38), whence we see that Cæsar's soldiers can still teach ours something. He had covered his workmen with a screen of cavalry.

<sup>2</sup> From a marble bas-relief. (*Rich, Dict. des ant. rom. et grecq.*, under the word *Biremis*.)

<sup>3</sup> The Pompeian fleet was originally far superior to Cæsar's, yet it confined itself to capturing a few merchant ships, and made no serious attempt to obtain the command of the Maltese Channel, which would apparently have been easy, and would have starved out Cæsar. Evidently Scipio did not know how to make use of it, and his captains did not like remaining out at sea in the bad season.

<sup>4</sup> P. QVINCTH VARI ACHVLLA; head of the proconsul Varius. Bronze coin of Achilla, Acholla, or Achilla.

<sup>5</sup> *Zeta* and *Sarsura* were taken by Cæsar; *Phabena* asked him for a new garrison, after

means to bring him to a battle, as at Pharsalia, or to hem him in, as at Lerida. But he had only a few hundred horse, while there were thousands in the Pompeian army, and he was kept to the coast by the necessity of awaiting his convoys from Sicily, for the provisions of the towns which had received his garrisons and the grain stores of the natives had been quickly exhausted. For water, he was obliged to dig wells in the plain which extended from the hills to the sea, and consequently to leave the heights to his foes; and finally, his scanty troops contained many recruits whom he was only making into veterans by daily skirmishes.

A last convoy having brought him provisions in abundance and the depôts of his legions, he at length decided to strike some decisive blow. An attempt upon Thysdrus failed, but by skilful



Coin of Thysdrus.<sup>1</sup>

manœuvres he succeeded in investing Thapsus, an important place, the harbour of which, added to those of Ruspina and Leptis, would give him a great stretch of coast, and consequently facilitate the arrival of supplies. Situated between the sea and a salt lake, Thapsus communicated with the mainland by a single road. In a few hours Cæsar cut through this isthmus, and the ancients were so powerless to batter entrenchments, that a ditch and an earthwork executed in one night were sufficient to stop an army. Scipio could not abandon Thapsus without incurring



Elephant.<sup>2</sup>

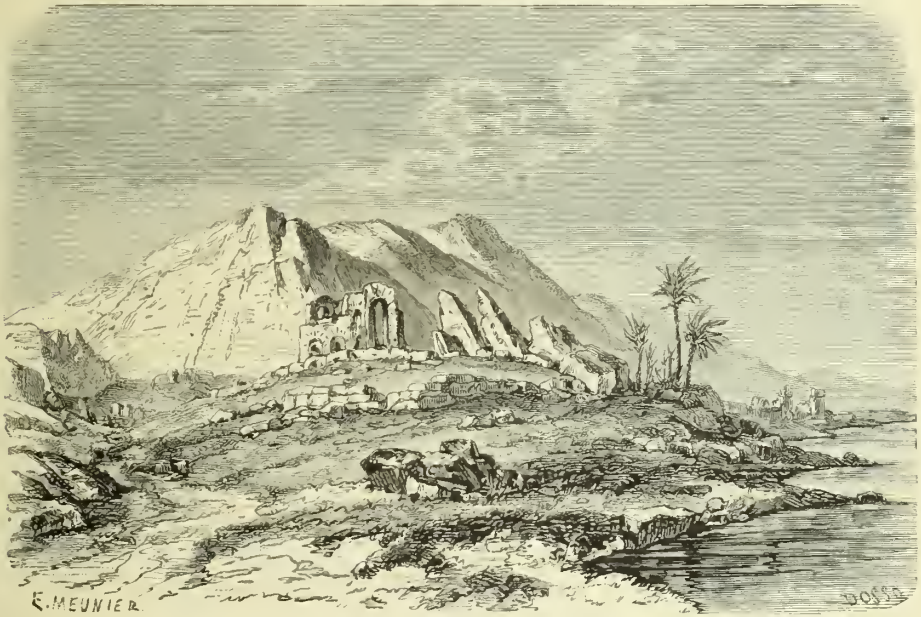
both shame and danger; he hastened thither as soon as he was informed of the enemy's march, but halted before the lines and decided to accept battle. Cæsar gave his troops for their battle-cry the word *Felicitas*. The day was indeed a fortunate one. The elephants caused some alarm; the fifth legion asked leave to fight them and easily overcame them, forcing them back with stones and javelins upon the Pompeian lines. From that day forward, says a writer of the second century of our era, this legion has always borne on its standards the elephant, which may

having massacred that placed there by the king; Vacca wished to do the same, but Juba, being warned of it, slew the population.

<sup>1</sup> Veiled head of Astarte with the cruciform sceptre, and a Punic inscription. Bronze coin of Thysdrus.

<sup>2</sup> CÆSAR; elephant trampling on a serpent. On a silver coin of Julius Cæsar. Spartianus (*El. Ver.*, 2) says that *cæsar* was in the Punic language the name of the elephant.

still be seen there.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding their numbers, the Pompeians were beaten and their three camps taken, and they left 30,000 men on the field (6th of April [6th of February]). All that remained of the Republican army broke up; Thapsus, Hadrumentum, and Thysdrus opened their gates; those of Zama, the capital of the Numidian king, were shut against him; *Bulla Regia*, another of his residences, must have done the like. In this general rout Cæsar's clemency seemed to the soldiers to be their surest refuge; the



Ruins of Bulla Regia.<sup>2</sup>

secondary officers and almost the whole of Juba's cavalry gave themselves up to him.

The leaders could not act thus. After Pharsalia no one amongst them had thought of taking any extreme resolution against himself. It was then a fair war which was closing, and the cruelties of Bibulus and Labienus having only fallen upon

<sup>1</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 96. [There are other instances of this emblem in history. The great victory of the first Antiochus over the Galatians was celebrated by a medal stamped with an elephant, having been the arm which had brought victory. In our own army, the regiments which fought at the battle of Assaye have likewise an elephant on their colours.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Bulla Regia* stood four days' journey from Carthage, on the banks of a tributary of the Bagradas. The engraving is taken from a learned memoir by the French minister at Constantinople, M. Tissot, who himself sketched these ruins.



sailors and soldiers, had been forgotten, so that no one feared reprisals. On the morrow of the battle, Brutus had gone over to Caesar's camp, and a few days later Cassius had surrendered his fleet to him. The African war had a totally different character; it was a merciless struggle which the Pompeians waged by atrocities. On neither side did the leaders hope that the victor would pardon; it only remained therefore, for the vanquished generals to seek other battlefields if they could find them, or to die. Labienus, Varus, and Sextus Pompey reached Spain, whither Pompey's eldest son had already repaired after a vain attempt on the coasts of Mauretania. Scipio also set sail for that province, but the vessel which carried him was driven by a storm into the port of Bona, into the midst of the squadron of Sittius, which surrounded him. "Where is the general?" cried the assailants. "The general is



Sextus Pompey.<sup>1</sup>

in safety," answered Scipio,<sup>1</sup> and fell upon his sword. Almost all the others perished; Considius was slain in his flight by his escort of Gætulian horse; Afranius and Faustus Sylla fell into the hands of Sittius and were slain in a riot among the soldiers.<sup>2</sup> Juba and Petreius, repulsed from every town, resolved to put an end to their miseries. After a sumptuous feast they each took a sword and engaged in single combat. Juba easily killed Petreius, who was already an old man, and then got a

slave to despatch him; his ashes were taken to Madras'en to rest with those of the kings of Numidia. The duel between the younger Marius and Telesinus in the vaults at Præneste had brought this kind of death into fashion. Cato introduced another, which illustrious men afterwards imitated, and which history records with respect.

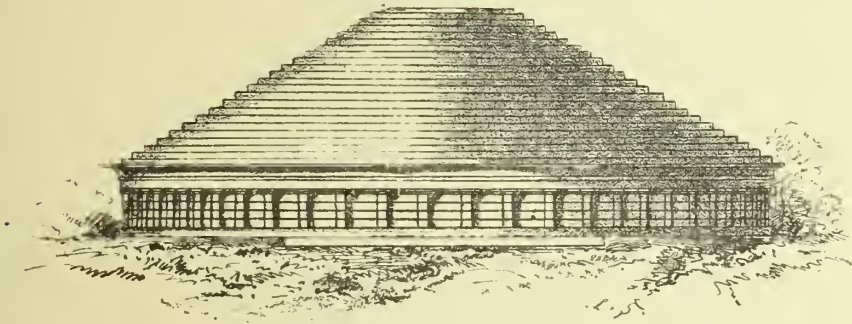
Cato was in command at Utica; he there received the news

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, cxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Sylla's widow was the sister of Cneus Pompey; Caesar sent her back to her brother with her two children. (App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 100.)

<sup>3</sup> From an engraved gem in the *Gallery of Florence*. It bears the engraver's name, ΑΓΑΘΟΘΗΟΥ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. Brunn (*Geschichte der griech. Künstl.*) contends against the attribution of this head to Pompey's second son.

of the defeat on the morning of the 8th of April, and immediately assembled the senators who remained near him, as well as the 300 Roman citizens settled in that town for purposes of trading and to open up the rich valley of the Bagradas.<sup>1</sup> He proposed to them



Tomb of the Kings of Numidia: the Madras'en (Restoration).<sup>2</sup>

to defend the place, and at first his energy infused itself into



Tomb of the Kings of Numidia: the Madras'en (Present State).

every heart, but it was needful to begin by freeing their slaves in order to arm them; this first sacrifice stopped them, and they

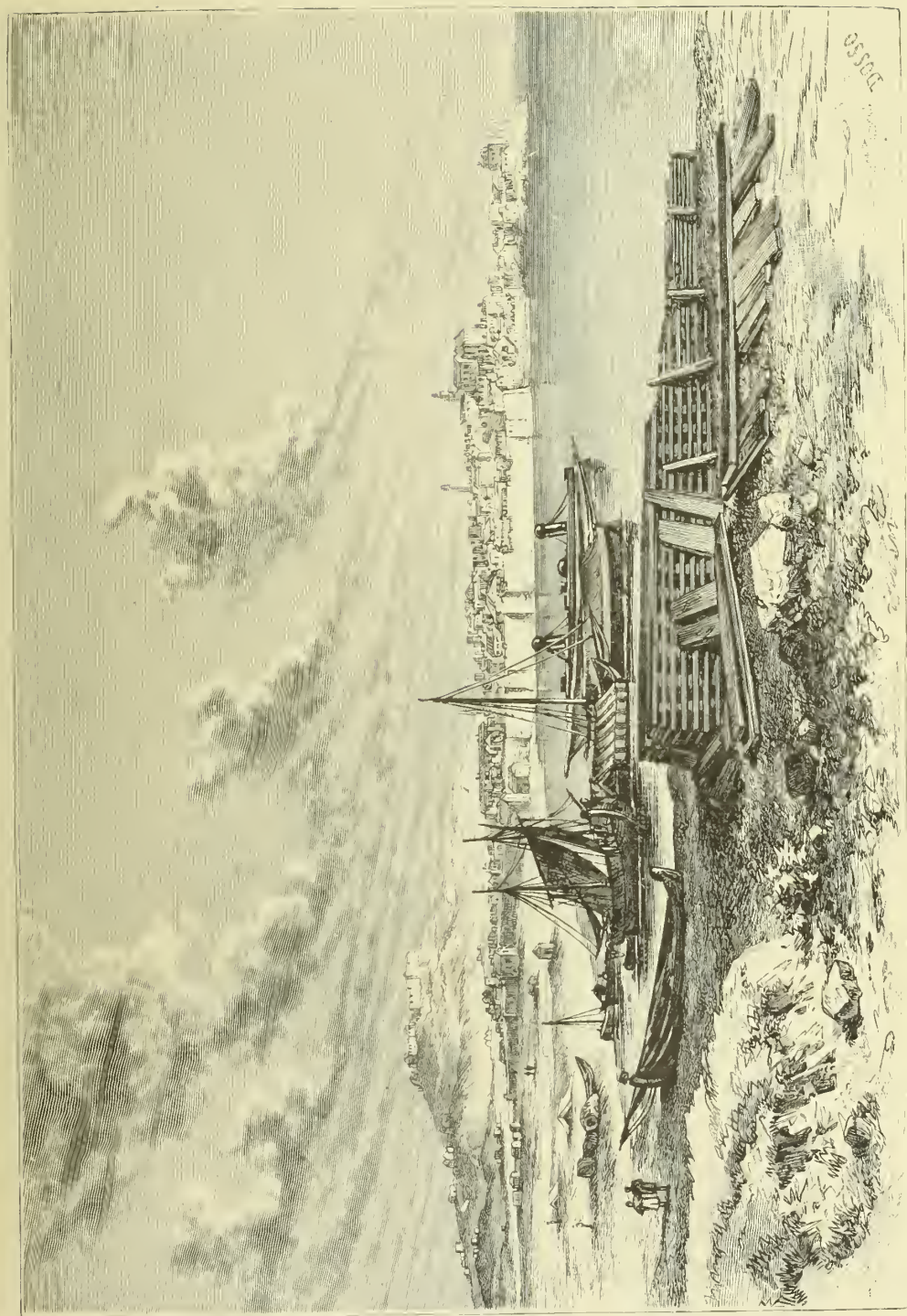
<sup>1</sup> According to Appian (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 95) these 300 constituted the Pompeian senate; the author of the *de Bell. Afric.* (90) only calls them the CCC who had furnished money to Scipio and Juba, but he distinguishes them from the other Roman merchants settled in the town. Some of them were put to death.

<sup>2</sup> There exist in Algeria some gigantic tumuli: in the province of Oran are the *Djedjar*, three massive erections crowning three offsets of the Djebel-Akhdar; in the province of Algiers the *Kebeur Roumia* (tomb of the Christian woman), the sepulchre of Juba II., of Cleopatra, his wife,

ended by abandoning all idea of resistance. Some of Scipio's horsemen who had taken refuge in the place wished to kill these merchants, or at least to drive them out of the town, together with the other inhabitants. Cato opposed this useless cruelty, and the horsemen departed after he had given them each 100 sesterces out of the money in the treasury, and Faustus Sylla an equal sum out of his private property. He then occupied himself in saving those who dared not expect pardon of Cæsar. When he heard that the dictator was marching upon Utica; "What!" said he; "Cæsar treats us as men, then!" And turning to the senators he advised them to delay no longer, caused all the gates to be shut except that towards the harbour, furnished vessels to those who needed them, and saw that everything was done properly. L. Cæsar, a relative of the conqueror, whom the three hundred had charged to entreat his clemency for them, besought him to compose a speech for him, adding that when it was time to intercede for him he should not do so in words, but should throw himself at Cæsar's feet. Cato forbade him to do so; "If I were willing to owe him my life I would myself go to him alone, but I will be beholden for nothing to a tyrant." After having taken a bath he supped with a numerous company, and they held a long discussion on the theme that the good man alone is free and all the wicked slaves. When he had dismissed his guests he retired and read in bed Plato's dialogue [*Phædo*] upon the immortality of the soul. He broke off after a few pages to seek for his sword, and not finding it, made enquiries as to where it was, then continued his reading, that he might not display any impatience; when he had ended he sent for all his slaves, loudly demanded his sword, and struck one of them so violently that his hand was all bloody from the blow. His son entered in tears with his friends. Then Cato, rising to a sitting posture, said to him in a severe tone; "When has any one seen me give proofs of insanity? Thou takest away my arms in order to give me up defenceless; why dost thou not tie my hands behind my back too? Do I need

and of Ptolemy, the last of the kings of Mauretania; and in the province of Constantine the *Madras'en*, or tomb of the kings of Numidia (Madres, patronymic of the family of Masinissa). The ashes of the vanquished of Thapsus were most probably borne thither. The basement is 192½ feet by 14½ feet high; the truncated cone, formed of twenty-four steps, is raised to a height





Bône (Algeria), Near the Site of Utica.





a piece of iron to take away my life?" His sword was brought to him by a child; he took it and examined the point. "Now I am my own master," said he. Then he took up the *Phædo* again,



Funeral Urns.<sup>1</sup>

read it all through twice, and after that fell into such a deep sleep that the sound of his breathing was heard outside.

of 45·65 feet; sixty engaged pillars without bases, the capitals of which recall those of Egypt rather than the Tuscan order, surround the monument, which was rifled long ago. The explorations of 1873 led to no discoveries in the sepulchral chamber. (See vol. xvi. of the *Mém. de la Soc. Archéol. de Constantine*, the report of Colonel Brunnon on these researches.)

<sup>1</sup> Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.*, etc., pl. 81.

Towards midnight he sent one of his freedmen to the harbour to make sure that everyone had embarked, and got the wound bound up which he had made on his hand. As the birds were beginning to sing he fell asleep again for a few moments; then, drawing his sword, he plunged it into his body below the breast. His wounded hand prevented him striking a sure blow, and struggling against the anguish, he fell from his bed. At the noise of the fall they hastened up. The wound was not a mortal one; the physician bandaged it up; but as soon as he recovered consciousness he tore off the dressing, reopened the hurt, and expired.

Cato was a Stoic, and his conduct was in accordance with his doctrine, when, according to the precepts of the school, he practised "the happy despatch," *εὐλογος ἐξαγωγὴ*. He did it quite simply, though the effect may have been theatrical, and he deprived the victor of his noblest conquest. "O Cato!" exclaimed Cæsar on hearing of his end, "thou didst envy me the glory of saving thy life!" Yet when Cicero, who admired the courage which he did not possess, composed a eulogy on the illustrious dead, the dictator, who wielded the pen as well as the sword, replied to it with the *Anti-Cato*, a witty and mocking satire, in which the rigid prætor was represented as sifting the ashes of his brother in order to recover the gold melted on the funeral-pyre, or yielding his beautiful young wife to Hortensius and taking her back again, old but wealthy, after the orator's death. It is a singular thing that Cato has against him both the Cæsars, the ancient and the modern. The one exposes to the derision of his courtiers the too rigid virtue of the last of the Republicans, the other, whom death so often passed by, accuses him of having basely deserted his post.<sup>1</sup> Neither of them was far wrong, but we love the devotion which clings to all great things when they are perishing. Cato and the Republic

<sup>1</sup> In his reflections upon Cæsar's *Commentaries*, Montesquieu agrees with his opinion, and Marcus Aurelius, the great Stoic, condemns voluntary death as a shrinking from duty; "The servant who flees," says he, "is a deserter." A recent historian of Cæsar, Mr. Froude, says of Cato; "His character had given respectability to a cause which if left to its proper defenders would have appeared in its natural baseness, and thus on him rested the responsibility for the colour of justice in which it was disguised." (*Cæsar*, p. 421, 1879.) The same writer, recalling Lucan's famous verse, *Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni*, adds: "Was Cato right, or were the gods right? Perhaps both;" and we agree with him.

depart together ; the death of the one is a worthy ending to the funeral ceremonies of the other.

The great and true Republic of former days, which had given birth to so many obscure and silent acts of devotion, had long since disappeared, and the sham liberty for which Cato died was not worthy of the sacrifice. But he believed he was giving up his life for the right, and we must needs honour the sense of duty which leads a man to suffer death, even though he be mistaken. From that day the Republican party had its martyr ; the blood of Cato endowed it with a virtue which kept it alive long after its defeat, and was the cause of the terrible tragedies witnessed under the empire. Cato did not kill himself only ; by his example and the legend which fastened to his name he drew after him to the tomb many a man of the like narrow mind, and the like fierce virtue. Nevertheless, he is still the first of these heroes of civil life who protested by grand stoic deaths against the cruelty of fate or the meanness of men.

<sup>1</sup> Engraved gem from the *Cabinet de France*.



Wounded Hero.<sup>1</sup>



## CHAPTER LVIII.

### THE MONARCHY.

#### I.—FRESH STAY OF CÆSAR AT ROME (46 B.C.); HIS TRIUMPHS AND REFORMS.

IF we study the history of Rome from the time of the Gracchi, putting aside the prejudices of the schools and the declamations of ignorant rhetoricians, we see clearly that the Romans had lost their liberty in conquering the world, and that the Republic, which was formerly a public affair, had become the property of a narrow and jealous oligarchy, which expected to live in luxury at the expense of the whole world. Against this greedy and incompetent faction there had at length arisen popular leaders, who took the part of the people, the allies, and the subject races. This was the era of attempts at reform. The reforms not having succeeded, revolution became inevitable—the ever recurring story of governments which shut their eyes to the future. With us, monarchy being the past which men would fain destroy, the republic very naturally succeeded it. At Rome, where the insurrectionary movement was directed against the Republican aristocracy, monarchy must of course follow. The logic of history demanded it, and that logic which is the outcome of facts is always right in the long run.

As the popular leaders had perished by violence, their policy passed over to military leaders. At first they united to consolidate the Empire of Rome, Pompey in the East, Cæsar in the West, and to the brilliancy of their services they owed a special position in the State. Pompey was only a soldier, from whom the oligarchy had nothing to fear if his puerile vanity were but satisfied. In Cæsar they foresaw a politician of the family of the Gracchi, one of those men who dreamt of a new city built on the ruins of the old; Cæsar was therefore their mortal enemy. In order to

overthrow him they granted Pompey, contrary to the constitution, that show of royalty which sufficed the man whose intelligence could not conceive a new order of things. For nearly a century the Republic meant nothing but murders and proscriptions, civil wars, and the overthrow of fortunes; on all sides insecurity; nowhere and for no one any comfort in living. To this state of things Cæsar wished to put an end, and we take his side against the incompetent men who sat in the Curia, styled themselves the law, and daily violated it. After having thus provoked the civil war, they were incompetent to carry it on. Pharsalia had driven them out of Greece; Thapsus drove them from Africa; and for the moment Cæsar no longer saw, throughout the whole Roman world, a single foe in arms against him. He was thus at length free to commence his reforms. Let us see whether he deserved his fortune.

Sallust.<sup>1</sup>

When Cæsar had levied 200,000,000 sesterces<sup>2</sup> in the province, joined eastern Numidia to Africa under the government of Sallust the historian, and divided the remainder of that kingdom between Bocchus, who had the country of Setif, and Sittius, who obtained Cirta with its dependencies,<sup>3</sup> Cæsar turned to Rome towards the end of July, 46 B.C. The senate has already decreed forty days of supplication for his victory. His triumphal car was to be drawn by white horses, as had been that of Camillus, the second founder of Rome, and was afterwards to be placed in the Capitol in front of the altar of Jupiter. A brazen statue was to be raised to him, with the globe under his feet, and with this inscription; "Cæsar, demi-god," and at the Circus he was to give the signal for the races to commence. "In order to reconstitute the Republic,"

<sup>1</sup> SALVSTIVS(sic) AVTOR; head of Sallust; a palm, sunk, in the field. Medallion (*Cabinet de France*), struck after Constantine, but giving the portrait of Sallust, whose bust in the Vatican (*Braccio nuovo*) does not appear to be authentic.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar sold by auction at Zama the property of Juba and of those of the Roman citizens settled in Numidia who had sided with the king; at Utica he confiscated the possessions of all who had held commands in the Pompeian army. Thapsus paid 5,000,000 sesterces, Hadrumentum 8,000,000. Leptis was condemned to furnish yearly 3,000,000 pounds of oil; Thydrus supplied wheat. (*Bell. Afric.*, 97.)

<sup>3</sup> Many inscriptions found near Constantine record Sittius' establishment there.

*reipublicæ constituendæ causæ*, he was to hold the dictatorship for ten years, which gave him the initiative in proposing laws, together



Julius Cæsar with the Laurel Crown.

with the military *imperium*, or command of the armies in the city and in the provinces; for three years he was to have the censorship without a colleague, under the new name of *præfectus morum*, that is to say, the right of revising the senate and the equestrian order, and consequently the means of rewarding and punishing a great many men. With the exception of the consulship, which was given him for the year 45 without a colleague, he was to have the right of nomination to half the curule offices,<sup>1</sup> and to determine which should be the prætorian provinces,<sup>2</sup> and to decide upon peace or war, that is to say, that the people surrendered elective power and the senate administrative sway in his favour. In the senate he was to sit between the two consuls on a curule chair raised higher than the rest, as a symbol of his higher authority, and to give his opinion first, that is,

he was to direct as it pleased him the deliberations of the body

<sup>1</sup> He did not make use of this prerogative for eight months; until the month of September in the year 45, the first of his decennial dictatorship, he was sole consul. Lepidus, his master of horse, and six (or according to others, eight) prefects whom he appointed took the places of the curule magistrates. In September he resigned the consulship, which he bestowed upon two of his generals, Fabius Maximus and Trebonius. The principal affairs of the government were really in the hands of his two agents, Oppius and Balbus. (Dion, xliii. 28, 48, and Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 76.)

<sup>2</sup> Dion, xliii. 51; Suet., *ibid.*, 41

which, since the troublous times began, had concentrated in its hands almost all the legislative power.

He celebrated four triumphs at intervals of several days. The first triumph was over the Gauls, the second over the Egyptians, the third over Pharnaces, and the fourth over Juba. Neither Pharsalia nor Thapsus were mentioned; and before his chariot were seen only the images of the conquered kings and generals, and those of the towns captured, or of the rivers and ocean which they had crossed. Among the captives there was not one Roman; but Cleopatra's sister, Arsinoë, was there, with Juba's son and Vercingetorix, the great Gallic chief, whom the trimmirs were awaiting at the Tullianum to slay.<sup>1</sup> Nothing re-called Pompey to men's minds. He showed less consideration for the vanquished in Africa, who were in a manner degraded from their title of citizens by their alliance with a barbarian king. He displayed Cato, Scipio and Petreius in a picture pierced with their own swords. At that sight many hearts felt a sting; but sadness was lost in the brilliance of the festival. And the crowd were little inclined to think of all those dead men when beneath their dazzled eyes there passed a very promising sight, 60,000 talents in coined money (more than £12,000,000), and 2,822 golden crowns.<sup>2</sup> What cared the people for a poverty-stricken and counterfeit liberty when their master promised them splendid festivals. Nought was heard but the soldiers making use of their ancient right to rail with coarse jests and songs at the friend of Nicomedes and of the Gauls whom he led behind his chariot, but only to take them to the senate. "Do well," cried they, "and thou shalt be beaten; do ill and thou shalt be a king;" or again, "Good folks of the town, take care of your wives, we bring back the bald-pate gallant." Dion relates that in order to avert by an act of humility the anger of Nemesis, the goddess hostile to great fortunes, Cæsar ascended the steps of the Capitol on his knees.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Arsinoë retired into the temple of Diana at Ephesus, where her sister caused her to be put to death after the battle of Philippi. Juba became a solid historian, and Augustus gave him back part of his father's possessions.

<sup>2</sup> Together they weighed 2,414 λίτρας, or pounds of twelve ounces. (App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 102.)

<sup>3</sup> xliii. 21. Claudius did the same after the conquest of Britain (Dion, xl. 23), and it is still done in many places as an act of devotion; I have seen it at Passau, and it is often seen at



In this city, still full of the memory of the murders of the oligarchy, and where there yet lived the sons of the men proscribed by Marius and Sylla, not a single head fell, not even a tear; on all sides there was pleasure and rejoicing. After Cæsar's triumph the whole Roman people reclined round 22,000 tables of three couches each, spread as if for the nobles; Chian and Falernian flowed freely, and the poorest might taste the much-



Venus on a Coin of the Year 44 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

vaunted lampreys and murenas.<sup>1</sup> If, far from these tables where the whole people was drinking deep, a few old Republicans stood apart, with shame on their foreheads and hatred in their hearts, they must at least have remembered, as a contrast to this domination which was beginning with feasting, that others had, not long before, begun with blood.

In the evening the victor traversed the city between four elephants bearing sparkling lustres, and on the day following came the distributions; to each citizen 105 denarii, 10 bushels of wheat, 10 pounds of oil; to all the poor the remission of a year's rent, which was no doubt paid out of the public treasury; to the legionaries 5,000 denarii per man; to the centurions twice that sum; to the tribunes four times as much. The veterans received grants of land. On the succeeding days the festivals continued in the name of his daughter Julia and of Venus, the author of his race. During the Gallic war he had bought for 60,000,000 sesterces a very large piece of ground which he had made into a new Forum, with no Republican memories and filled with the glory of his name. He had there raised a temple to *Venus Genitrix*, which he now dedicated, and placed therein a beautiful

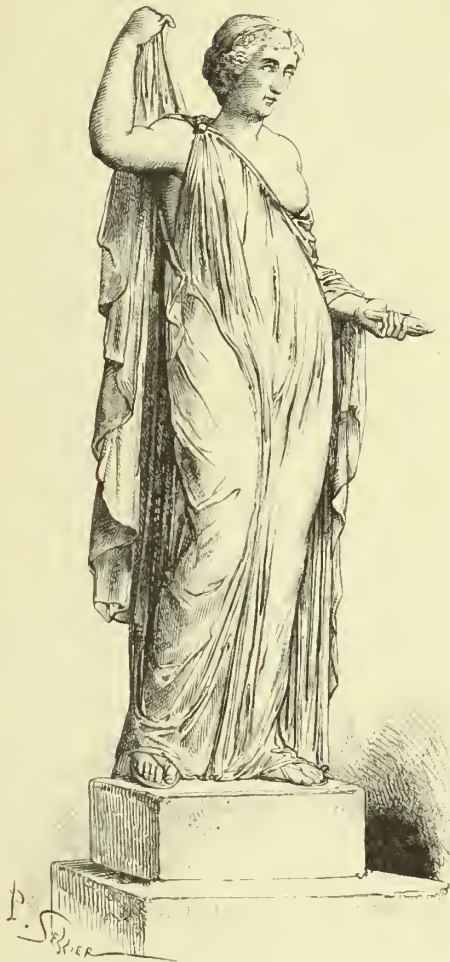
the Scala Santa of the Lateran at Rome. "Cæsar never failed, it is asserted, to repeat thrice, when he got into a carriage, a formula which should secure him against accident by the way, a precaution which to our knowledge is now generally adopted." (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxviii. 4.) Incredulity and superstitious practices go very well together, answering to the double nature which man so often bears within him, doubt and faith.

<sup>1</sup> Counting as was customary three persons to each couch, we have 198,000 guests, or 264,000 if there were four.

<sup>2</sup> CAES. DIC. QVAR. (Cæsar, dictator for the fourth time); head of Venus with diadem. On the reverse, in a laurel wreath, COS. QVINC. (consul for the fifth time). Cæsar had not yet the right, which he shortly afterwards obtained, of stamping the coinage with his effigy. (See p. 382.)

statue of Cleopatra,<sup>1</sup> which was still to be seen there two centuries later.

Festive displays of all kinds led the people to accept this apotheosis of the Julian house; scenic representations. Trojan games, Pyrrhic dances, foot and chariot races, wrestling of athletes, hunts in which were slain wild bulls, a giraffe, the first seen at Rome, and as many as four hundred lions; a naval fight between Tyrian and Egyptian galleys, and finally a battle between two armies each containing 500 infantry, 300 horse, and twenty elephants. On this occasion the gladiators were eclipsed; some knights and the son of a prætor descended into the arena; and even senators wished to fight there. Caesar was obliged to keep his senate free from this disgrace. From all corners of Italy men had flocked to these games. So great was the crowd that people camped in the streets and cross roads under tents, and numbers of persons, among them two senators, were suffocated. Over the amphitheatre, to shield the spectators from the rays of the sun, floated a *velarium* of silk,<sup>3</sup> a material then almost unknown at Rome, and dearer than its weight in gold.



*Venus Genetrix.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Κλεοπάτρας εἰκόνα καλὴν. Appian saw it. (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 102.)

<sup>2</sup> Statue in the Gallery at Florence, No. 265. Several museums in Europe possess statues of *Venus Genetrix* in similar attitude.

<sup>3</sup> Dion, xliii. 24. I doubt if there could at that time be found sufficient silk in Rome for this immense awning.

Amid these festivals with which the dictator paid for his royalty, he did not forget that he had to justify his power by securing order. Till his consulship he had relied chiefly on the people and the knights; during his command in Gaul and throughout the Civil war he had transferred this reliance to the army; now he wished to find support in a wise and moderate government which should unite parties, forget injuries, and elicit gratitude by an able and benevolent administration. Although in



Athletes Wrestling.<sup>1</sup>

Africa he had shown himself more severe than at Pharsalia, he was determined to persevere in his clemency. He had granted to the senate the recall of the ex-consul Marcellus, to Cicero that of Ligarius; he had thrown into the fire the compromising papers found in the enemy's camps, and he only pronounced decrees of confiscation against those citizens who had enrolled themselves in the troops of the Numidian king, which he called treason to

<sup>1</sup> Magnificent groups from the Tribune at Florence (*la Lotta*), one of the most beautiful that antiquity has left us. It is thought to have been discovered on the Esquiline, like the Niobides, and sold, as were those statues, to the Medicis. The gardens of Mæcenas were on the Esquiline.

Rome, and against Pompeian officers; and even then he left women their dowry and children a portion of their inheritance; and finally he tried in 44 by a general *amnesty* to wipe out the last traces of the Civil war. But in spite of its name, which means forgetfulness, the amnesty never caused anything to be forgotten. A few weeks later Caesar was assassinated.

This mildness was allied with firmness; some legionaries, thinking their reign had arrived, had cried out against the expenses of the triumph, as though the money had been stolen from them; he caused one to be put to death.<sup>1</sup> When he gave land to his veterans, he took care that their allotments were separated, in order to avoid the violences which a number of soldiers assembled at one point would have committed against their neighbours;<sup>2</sup> and in increasing the pay of those who remained with the standards to 900 sesterces instead of 480 (£7 instead of £3 5s.); he had yielded, not to seditious clamours, but to a necessity brought about by the general rise in prices.

So much for the soldiers. As for the people, 320,000 citizens lived at Rome at the expense of the State, and all the beggars in Italy flocked to the city to profit by the distributions; he reduced the number of receivers to 150,000 by excluding from the distributions those who could do without them, and by offering to others land in the provinces;<sup>3</sup> 80,000 accepted the offer.<sup>4</sup> Thus at the same time he diminished the hungry crowd which encumbered the town, where it formed a permanent source of danger, and created centres of Roman civilization in the provinces. It was the ancient way, and no better has since been discovered, of solving by means of colonies the problem of the proletariat which England and Germany now seek to escape by wholesale emigration. But he preserved the *annona*, a great beneficial institution for benefitting the poor, who, though far from being of Roman origin,

<sup>1</sup> Dion xliii. 24, 50. He also mentions two men who were slain, *ἐν τῷ πύργῳ τῶν ἱερουργιῶν*, by the pontiffs and flamen of Mars, no doubt for some religious expiation, the motive of which both he and we know nothing.

<sup>2</sup> *Assignavit agros, sed non continuos, ne quis possessorum expelleretur.* (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 38.)

<sup>3</sup> He founded only six colonies in Italy, not, like Sylla, at the expense of the Italian populations, but in spots which were then almost desert, at Veii, Lanuvium, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps he now created the *jus italicum*, which identified provincial and Italic soil, by exempting the *coloni* from *tributum*, and giving them quiritary possession.



represented the conquerors of the corn-producing provinces, and had inherited their right to enjoy the fruits of those victories. Every year it was the prætor's duty to replace the dead by inscribing fresh names on the list. Two ædiles, *ædiles cereales*, directed this administration, at the head of which Augustus afterwards placed a *præfectus annonæ*. Another measure tended towards the same object, the diminution of the number of idle beggars; he obliged proprietors to maintain a third part of free workmen among those engaged on their land; it was a law which had already been made and always eluded, because Rome had no permanent power interested in seeing it carried out.

The free population was decreasing; to augment the number he brought two powerful motives into play, interest and vanity. To the father of three children at Rome, four in Italy, or five in the provinces, he granted exemptions from certain personal taxes; to the matron who could boast of her fertility he gave the right to go about in a litter, to clothe herself in purple, and to wear a necklace of pearls.

He suppressed all associations formed since the Civil war, which served malcontents and ambitious schemers either to conceal their plots or to carry them into execution;<sup>1</sup> henceforth none could be established but with the consent of the government. There was probably a law made restricting the right to appeal to the people.<sup>2</sup> The courts were reorganized at the expense of the popular element, for he excluded the tribunes of the treasury from holding the office of judge, which he reserved for senators and knights;<sup>3</sup> but he had admitted a large number of new men into those two orders. The regulation respecting associations deprived the nobles of a means of troubling the State; severe provisions were added to the laws against the crimes of *majesty* and violence; and the duration of a governorship of a province was fixed at one year for a prætor and two for a proconsul. A sumptuary law, quite as useless of course as those which had preceded it, attempted to diminish the insulting ostentation of the wealthy, and he began

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 42; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 10. That of the Jews at Rome was excepted on account of the service rendered by that nation in the Alexandrian war.

<sup>2</sup> At least Antony re-established it in 44. (Cic., *Philipp.*, i. 9.)

<sup>3</sup> Dion., xliii. 25; Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 43.

the reorganization of the finances by establishing custom-houses in Italy for foreign merchandise.

Thus the balance was kept equal among all classes ; no order was raised above the others, and the State at length had a head who put general above party interests. But these laws, as we have too often repeated, were only palliatives. Cæsar had not time to make his ideas durable by embodying them in institutions. Augustus followed Cæsar's example without having the same excuse, and thus, through the fault of its two founders, the Empire had innumerable laws but no political organization.

The troubles of the last fifty years had increased to a deplorable extent the decay of agriculture and the depopulation of the country ; free men came from all quarters to seek their fortunes at Rome, or went into the camps and provinces. Cæsar forbade any citizen between the ages of twenty and forty to remain out of Italy longer than three years, save in case of military service, the duration of which he diminished. In the distribution of land he favoured those who had numerous families ; three children entitled a man to the most fertile fields ; we have seen that he ordered graziers to have among their shepherds at least a third of free men,<sup>1</sup> and that he drove half his poor people out of Rome. This was the idea of the Gracchi, to scatter the race of free men into the country and make them multiply there. Sylla's colonists had very soon exchanged their land for a little money, and that too was soon squandered, and the ruined soldiery had readily sold themselves to faction-mongers. To render the appearance of a new Catiline impossible, Cæsar forbade his veterans to alienate their allotments except after twenty years' possession.<sup>2</sup>

There existed a perpetual cause of disorder in the disagreement between the calendar calculated on the lunar year of 355 days, and that which followed the solar year of 365 days. The nobles had made use of this for their own purposes to put forward or backward as they liked the elections and dates of expiration of public farmings. In former days the college of pontiffs had maintained the agreement between the lunar and solar years by adding intercalary days to the former ; but the disturbances of

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Julius Cæsar*.

<sup>2</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 2. Cassius soon annulled this prohibition. (*Ibid.*, iii. 7.)

the last century of the Republic had spread disorder among heavenly as well as earthly phenomena; the pontiffs had neglected the necessary precautions, and the legal year, more than two months (67 days) behind the normal one, then began in October, so that "the harvest festivals no longer fell in summer, nor those of the vintage in autumn." Cæsar entrusted Sosigenes, the astronomer of Alexandria, with the task of bringing the calendar into agreement with the sun's course. It was found necessary to allow the year 45, called "the last year of the confusion," 445 days, that is to say, the 67 which they were behind and the 23 of the usual intercalary month."<sup>1</sup>

Cato might have said—and those who were left of the oligarchical party did say—that all these excellent things became evils when accomplished by an individual and not by the Republic. But the Republic had for a century past been under the obligation to carry out these reforms and had not done so.

## II.—WAR IN SPAIN; MUNDA (45); CÆSAR'S RETURN TO ROME.

The news which arrived from different parts of the Empire interrupted this fruitful work. The ties of patronage which at Rome had grown weaker, retained their force in the provinces, where the nobles whom the chances of politics or war had made patrons of certain nations, found assistance among those nations to aid their enterprises. The senate had everywhere strengthened the influence of the provincial aristocracy; but that aristocracy was less attached to the fortunes of Rome than to those of the proconsul who had the office of organizing the province. The heads of cities took the side of those who had conferred power upon them, under the idea that the opposite party would not fail to deprive them of it. It was interest, therefore, and not principle which decided what party a man would side with. That at Rome

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 40. As the Julian year contained 365 days and six hours, Sosigenes settled that the common year should consist of 365 days three times following, and the fourth year of 366 days. This Julian year was too long by eleven minutes, twelve seconds, an error which was corrected in 1582 by the Gregorian calendar. The Russians and all nations belonging to the Greek Church still make use of the Julian calendar, and are at the present time twelve days behind us in their dates.

it was a question of Republic or monarchy, of liberty or servitude, as the oligarchy declared, mattered little. Gaul was for Cæsar, because Cæsar had there distributed offices and favours; for the like reason Syria and Spain were for the Pompeians. They had been among the father's clients, they remained among the childrens', so that a few mistakes on the part of Cæsar's lieutenants sufficed to raise again in those distant provinces the faction which had so often been beaten.

In Syria the Pompeian Cæcilius Brassus had driven out the governor appointed by Cæsar, and was asserting himself independent. In Gaul a movement of the Bellovaci had been easily suppressed by Dec. Brutus, but Spain was on fire. During the Alexandrian war Q. Cassius Longinus, the Cæsarian lieutenant in Hispania Ulterior, had so thoroughly roused men's minds to revolt by his harshness and exactions that he narrowly escaped being assassinated in Hispalis (Seville), and two of his legions, composed of old Pompeian soldiers of Afranius, mutinied; but for the intervention of the governor of Hispania Citerior a civil war would have broken out. These events were of great moment. The mutineers, though they had returned to their duty, nevertheless dreaded a severe punishment, and they thought the surest means of escape was to break the military oath a second time and change sides as soon as an opportunity occurred. When the remnants of Pharsalia reassembled in Africa, the malcontents in

made secret overtures to Cato, and in order to conduct the negotiations at less distance, Pompey's eldest son, Cnaeus, took possession of the Balearic Islands. After Thapsus he landed in the Peninsula, and his brother Sextus joined him, with Labienus and Varro from Africa. In a short time he had thirteen legions, and overcame all who tried to oppose his schemes.

At Pharsalia the nobles had united with Pompey, intending to settle with him afterwards. In Africa they had fought on their own account; and in order to make sure that the sons of their former "Agamemnon" should not reap the fruits of their perseverance, they had sent one away and assigned to the other an obscure part. But in Spain it was the name of Pompey which had collected an army, and the watchword was not *Rome*, or *Liberty*, but *Filial Piety*; it had been necessary to proclaim Cnaeus



general, and he must be master after the victory. And a stern master he would make, ever threatening with the sword. Accordingly many said to themselves that it was now only a question of choosing between two tyrannies, one mild the other violent. When Cæsar left Rome at the end of September, 46, he bore with him the good wishes of his former enemies.<sup>1</sup>

The Pompeian legions had been formed of the soldiers of Afranius who were disbanded after Lerida, of the mutineers of Longinus, the remnants of the African army, liberated slaves and dissolute adventurers from all lands. Of these thirteen legions only four containing the veterans

Coin of Ulia.<sup>2</sup>

Coin of Ulia.

were worth anything. These raw and little-disciplined troops might meet the enemy well in the day of battle, but were incapable of carrying out skilful evolutions. Cnæus Pompey dared not, therefore, lead them into Hispania Citerior to dispute the passes of the Pyrenees with Cæsar. He did not even defend the difficult passes leading into the valley of the Guadalquivir (*Bætis*), and he allowed the Cæsarians to arrive in twenty-three days in the neighbourhood of Ulia, which he was besieging, and of Corduba, which

Coin of  
Corduba.<sup>3</sup>

he had made his head-quarters. This country offered a total contrast to that in which the last campaign had taken place; but for various reasons it was quite as difficult to strike a decisive blow by forcing an unwilling enemy to accept battle. Being mountainous, and also fertile, it afforded impregnable positions, and water and provisions were to be found everywhere. Several months elapsed in sieges<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the letter of Cassius to Cicero (*ad Fam.*, xv. 19) and that of Cicero to Atticus (xii. 37), where these words occur; "It is said that Sextus fled from Corduba into Hispania Citerior; Cnæus has also fled, but I know not whither and care very little." During this campaign he wrote to Cæsar, speaking of his immortal exploits, *immortalitati laudum tuarum*. (*ad Fam.*, xiii. 15 and 16.) Yet in conversing with Atticus a few days later, he thought it a shame that Cæsar should be allowed to live, *cum vivere ipsum turpe sit nobis*. (*ad Att.*, xiii. 28.) But this may be translated; "When to live is itself disgraceful to me."

<sup>2</sup> Bare head, palm and crescent. On the reverse, VLIA and olive branches. Bronze coin.

<sup>3</sup> CORDVBA; Cupid standing, holding a torch and a cornucopia. Bronze coin.

<sup>4</sup> Cæsar compelled Cn. Pompey to abandon the siege of Ulia by threatening the stronghold



Pass of Despeñaperros.





and skirmishes. The cruelty of Cnæus and the dictators' impatience at being delayed by these Pompeians, whom he had already crushed twice, gave this war a character of ferocity which the struggle had not hitherto possessed; Cnæus put to death all suspected persons, and Cæsar returned him murder for murder. The decisive action at length took place on the 17th March 45 B.C., under the walls of Munda. The *Commentaries* are far from indicating that lassitude among the legions which, according to ancient writers, compelled Cæsar to rush bareheaded against the enemy crying to his veterans as they were about to flee, "Will you then give up your general to children?" He only lost a thousand men; 30,000 Pompeians fell, among them Labienus and Varro, and the eagles of the thirteen legions were captured.<sup>1</sup> Cnæus succeeded in reaching Carteia, whence he was soon compelled to flee. Wounded in the shoulder and in the leg, prevented by a sprain from walking, he went from mountain to mountain in a litter. At length one day, quite exhausted, he hid himself in a cave, and being there betrayed by his men, he was slain. His brother, who had not been present at the battle, succeeded in finding an asylum in the Pyrenees; he remained there till Cæsar's death, and we shall see how he afterwards raised the fortunes of his house.

One of the principal Pompeian leaders, Scapula, had taken refuge at Corduba. He could not count on Cæsar's clemency this time; those who had ordered so many massacres must perish. Scapula knew it; he remembered Cato, and followed his example, but he died as an Epicurean. "He had a funeral pile prepared for him, then ordered a splendid feast, distributed among his slaves all he possessed, and dressed in his richest garments, perfumed

of Ategua, which he captured, and then turned towards Hispalis; he also obtained possession of Ventispontum, and would have carried Carrucca had not Pompey burnt that town. Thence he continued his march towards Munda, where he was at length forced into an engagement. Munda did not stand where it is generally placed, to the south-west of Malaga. In that direction there is no such plain as the one spoken of in the history *de Bell. Hispan.*, and moreover, it is too far from the places where the two armies were operating. Munda was in the *conventus* of Astigi (Strabo, iii. 141 and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 1); it must be looked for near Cordova, towards which Appian's narrative (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 104) as well as the events following the battle (*de Bell. Hispan.*, 33-4 and 41) lead us, probably in a spot where there are still to be seen the ruins of towers and walls, between Martos, Alcaudete, Espejo, and Bœna.

<sup>1</sup> This was the last of Cæsar's battles. According to Nicolaus Damascenus, he fought 300 fights, and adds, what is not quite true, that he was never once beaten.



with nard and resin, supped gaily. At the last cup he made one of his servants kill him, whilst the best-beloved among his freedmen set fire to the pyre."<sup>1</sup> These voluptuous and sanguinary men, accustomed to gratify all their passions, had no longer anything to live for when adversity overtook them; they departed accepting, according to their master's advice, a lesser evil, annihilation, to avoid the greater misery.<sup>2</sup>

Of the men who in 49 sat full of hopes and threats in the Republican senate at Thessalonica, but very few were left; and those who had survived so many combats invoked the clemency of Cæsar. "Thus ended in a sea of blood," says an English historian, "the Civil war which the senators had undertaken against Cæsar in order to escape the reforms with which his second consulship threatened them. These men had done their country a service, however, by rendering for ever impossible that Republican constitution in which elections were a mockery, the tribunals an insult to justice, and the provinces the feeding-grounds of a gluttonous aristocracy."

At Rome official enthusiasm burst forth anew at the tidings of these successes. The senate decreed fifty days of supplications, and recognized Cæsar's right to extend the *pomœrium*, since he had extended the limits of the empire. Decrees engraved in letters of gold upon silver tables, and deposited at the feet of Jupiter in the Capitol, declared that: "The dictator shall retain in all places the triumphal apparel and laurel wreath; he shall be called the father of his country, and the day of his birth shall be celebrated by sacrifices. Every year the Republic shall offer solemn vows for him; his Fortune shall be the sanction of an oath; and every five years games shall be given in his honour." After Thapsus he was more than a demi-god; after Munda he

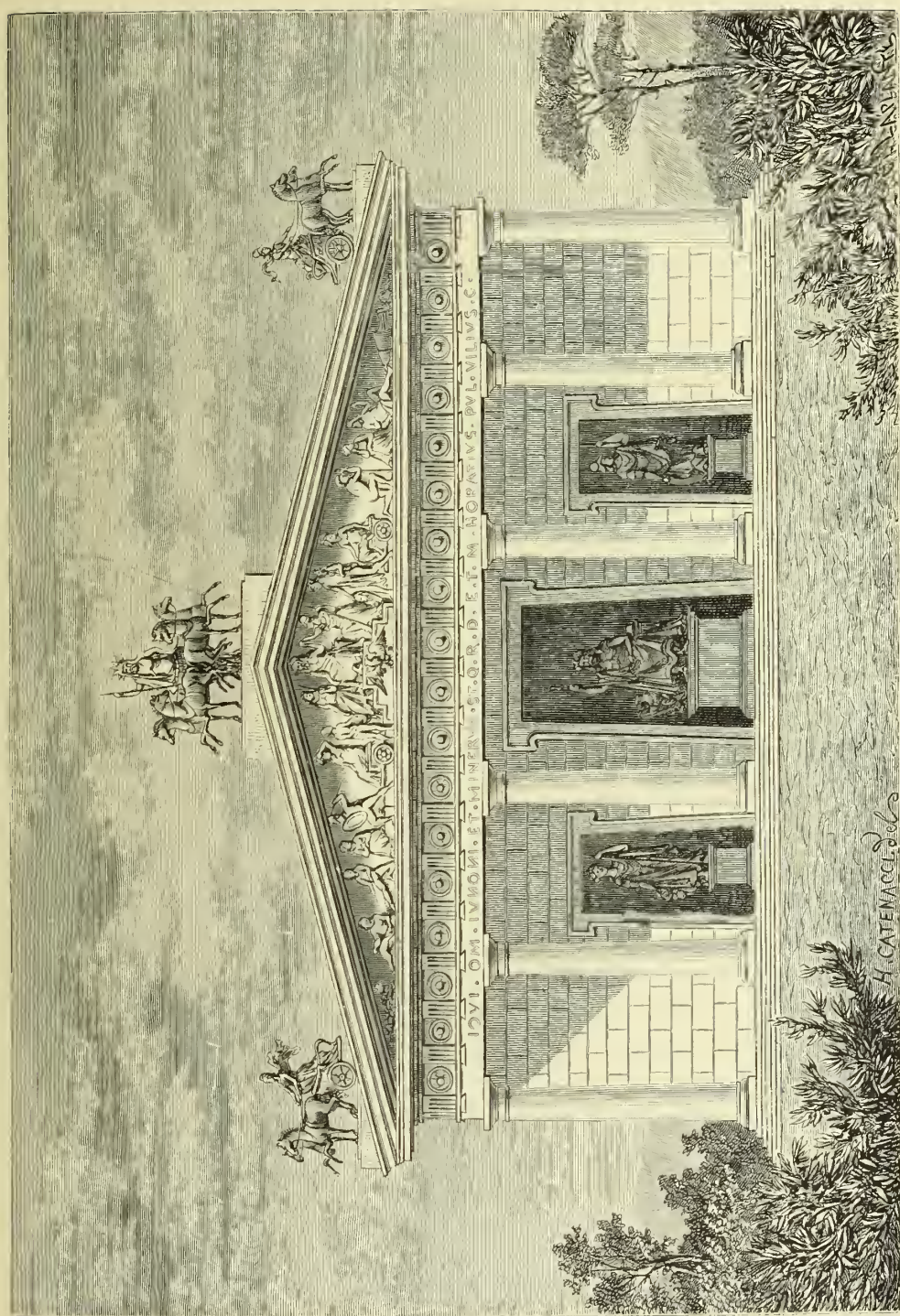


Cæsar, Father of his Country.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bell. Hisp.*, 33. This book is unfortunately not completed. The last act of the war which it relates is the taking of the two cities of Munda and Ursao. Of the former of these only the name remains; of the latter, which was colonized by Cæsar, nothing but a few ruins. But from these ruins there has just emerged the most precious of epigraphic monuments, the bronzes of *Osuna*, containing a portion of the municipal constitution of the city.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. ii. p. 214, note 6, the *Ethics of Epicurus*.

<sup>3</sup> CÆSAR PARENS PATRIÆ; head of Julius Cæsar crowned with laurels and veiled between the *apex* and the *lituus*. This coin is of later date than the one on p. 364.



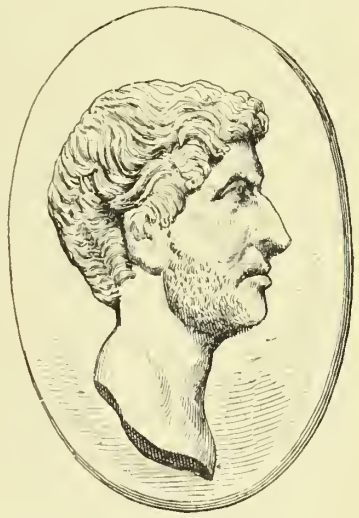
Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Canina's Restoration).





was a god altogether. A statue was raised to him in the temple of Quirinus with the inscription: "To the invincible God," and a college of priests, the Julian, was consecrated to him. Was it by design that his image was also placed beside those of the kings, between Tarquin the Proud and the first Brutus? Some saw therein a threat and a foreboding; but the greater number thought it an honour. Was not Cæsar a second Romulus? The senate at least declared so by ordaining that on the Palilia with the anniversary of the foundation of the city there should be celebrated that of the victory of Munda, the second birth of Rome. New times were in fact coming, and let us not accuse these men too freely of shameful baseness when we hear them calling Cæsar the liberator and dedicating a temple to Liberty; had he not freed the world from anarchy and plunder? Repose, order, security, were not these, too, a needful liberty?

On the 13th September the dictator appeared at the gates of Rome, but he did not triumph till the beginning of October. This time there was no barbarian king or chieftain to veil the victories won over citizens. But Cæsar thought he had no longer need to keep up such consideration; since he was now the State, his enemies, whatever name they bore, must be enemies to the State. Indeed, the festivals, the games, and feasting of the preceding year began again with perhaps greater magnificence.<sup>2</sup> The people had complained of not being able to witness everything, strangers of not hearing all; the games were divided; each quarter of the city had its own, and each nation plays in its own language[?]. It was only fair; was not Rome now the fatherland of all peoples? Let all the tongues of the world be heard then in the world's



The First Brutus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first Brutus, from a beautiful engraved amethyst of the Augustan age. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 2111.)

<sup>2</sup> In all these pleasures Cæsar took part as little as possible; at the games he read despatches and dictated answers. (Suet., *Octav.*, 45.)



capital, as the men and things of all lands were seen there. There Cleopatra still held her court in Cæsar's garden beyond the Tiber, where Cicero ventured to show himself.<sup>1</sup> There Moorish kings and Asiatic princes had their ambassadors. It was the concourse of nations at the foot of the rising throne. They came to salute the "saving god," and their eager glances followed neither the races in the circus nor the games in the amphitheatre, but the ancient powers erewhile so dreaded which now appeared in their humiliation; knights, senators, and even a tribune of the people descending into the arena. Laberius played as a mime in one of his own pieces. "Alas," said the old poet in his prologue, "after sixty years of a spotless life, I have left my house a knight, and shall re-enter it a mime. I have lived a day too long." We need not bestow too much pity on his lot; on entering his equestrian home again he found there 500,000 sesterces which Cæsar had promised, and the gold ring which was restored to him.<sup>2</sup>

### III.—CLEMENCY OF CÆSAR; HIS DICTATORSHIP; EXTENT OF HIS POWERS; CONTINUATION OF REFORMS; HIS PROJECTS.

It was expected that Cæsar, having suffered so many outrages, would now punish severely, and Cicero, who had always doubted his clemency, believed that tyranny would break out as soon as the tyrant was above fear. But jealousies, recollections of party strifes, did not reach to the height of Cæsar; the conqueror of Pharsalia, the nephew of Marius, gave place to the representative of the Roman world, whose every glory became, like Rome itself, his inheritance. He restored the statues of Sylla; he replaced that

<sup>1</sup> He even begged of the queen some Egyptian curiosities and she refused him, which stung him to the quick. (*ad Att.*, xv. 15.)

<sup>2</sup> The profession of mime ranked amongst the *infames*. Laberius was a Pompeian and had a sharp tongue; it may be that Cæsar, when he asked him to play one of his own pieces, wanted to revenge himself for some mischievous words. The poet retaliated in his play by these threatening words; *Necesse est multos timeat quem ultmi timent*. (Macrobius, *Saturn.*, II. iii. 10, and vii. 3.) But he also said, less haughtily, in his prologue; "I have obeyed the humble, gentle, and flattering prayer of an illustrious man. Could I refuse anything to one whom the gods have refused nothing?" When he wished to resume his seat amongst the knights they closed up so that he could not find it, and Cicero cried: "I would gladly offer you room if I were not too crowded." To which Laberius replied: "True, you always require two stools."

of Pompey on the rostra,<sup>1</sup> as he had formerly set up again in the Capitol the trophies of the conqueror of the Cimbri; he pardoned Cassius, who had tried to assassinate him, the *consularis* Marcellus who had stirred up war against him, and Quintus Ligarius who had betrayed him in Africa. As a temporary precaution however, he forbade to the Pompeians, by a *lex Hirtia*, admission to the magistracy.<sup>2</sup>



Temple erected to  
Caesar's Clemency.<sup>3</sup>

For his authority, Caesar sought no new forms. Sylla, believing that the Republic could be saved by laws, had remodelled the whole constitution, without making any change in the real situation of the State; Caesar, who founded a new regime, seemed to preserve intact the ancient laws. Senate, comitia, magistracies existed as before, but he centred public action in himself alone by combining in his own hands all the Republican offices.

The instrument which Caesar used in order to give to his power legal sanction was the senate. In former times the general, after the triumph, laid aside his title of *imperator* and *imperium*, which included absolute authority over the army, the judicial department, and the administrative power; Caesar, by a decree of the senate, retained both during life, with the right of drawing freely from the treasury.<sup>5</sup> His dictatorship and his office of *praefectus morum* were declared perpetual; the consulship was offered him for ten years, but he would not accept it; the senate wished to join executive to electoral authority by offering him the right of appointment in all curule and plebeian offices; he reserved for himself merely the privilege of nominating half the magistracy. The senate had enjoined the members chosen to swear, before entering on office, that they would undertake nothing contrary to



Caesar,  
Life-Dictator.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Caesar*, 63. *Nunquam nisi honorificentissime Pompeium appellat.* (Cic., *ad Fam.*, vi. 6.)

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *Philipp.*, xiii. 16.

<sup>3</sup> CLEMENTIAE CAESARIS surrounding a tetrastyle temple. Reverse of a silver coin of Julius Caesar.

<sup>4</sup> CAESAR DICT. IN PERPETVO; head of Julius Caesar, veiled and crowned with laurel.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dion, xliii. 55; *ibid.*, 47; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 41, 84; Dion, xliv. 6; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 106, 145; for the facts in the text.

the dictator's acts, these having the force of law. Further, they gave to his person the legal inviolability of the tribunes, and in order to ensure it, knights and senators offered to serve as guards, while the whole senate took an oath to watch over his safety.

To the reality of power were added the outward signs. In the senate, at the theatre, in the circus, on his tribunal, he sat, dressed in the royal robe, on a throne of gold, and his effigy was stamped on the coins, where the Roman magistrates had not yet ventured to engrave more than their names.<sup>1</sup> They even went as far as talking of succession, as in a regular monarchy. His title of



Emblems of the Pontificate.<sup>4</sup>

*imperator* and the sovereign pontificate were transmissible to his legitimate or adopted children,<sup>2</sup> and as he had neither, a hare-brained poet is said to have thought of proposing a law to allow Cæsar to marry any woman who might appear able to give him a son.<sup>3</sup> It was suggested that his image should be placed in the temple of Quirinus, with this in-

scription, Θεος Ἀνίκητος, ("To the invincible god"), and to raise another to Clemency, where his statue might be placed by the side of that of the goddess, each holding the other's hand. Cæsar was not deceived by the secret perfidy which prompted such servilities, and he valued them as they deserved. But his enemies found in them fresh reasons for hating the great man who had saved them.

In this concentration of all public offices in the hands of Cæsar, the old magistracies resembled the images of ancestors preserved in the *atrium* of the consular houses, a fair and dignified array of empty and lifeless forms. The senate had likewise sunk from its character of supreme council of the Republic into that of a committee of consultation, which the master often forgot to

<sup>1</sup> Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, vi. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Dion, xliii. 44, and xliv. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Uti uxoribus liberorum querendorum causa, quas et quot vellet ducere liceret.* (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 85.) In the first place the law was not brought forward. Only the tribune Helvius Cinna was suspected of having had the intention of doing so; secondly divorce was very common at Rome, and Cinna had doubtless been inspired by the example of Hortensius asking Cato to give up his wife to him that he might have children by her, *liberorum querendorum causa*. The monstrous thing in the law proposed by Cinna was compulsory divorce. Sylla had done this, but that would have been no excuse for Cæsar, who had refused the all-powerful dictator's request that he should separate himself from his wife.

<sup>4</sup> *Lituus*, sprinkler, axe, and *aper*. Reverse of a silver coin of the Julian family.

consult. The Civil war had decimated it; Cæsar appointed to it brave soldiers, even sons of freedmen who had served him well, and a considerable number of provincials, Spaniards, Gauls of Gallia Narbonensis who had long been Romans. He had so many services to reward, that his senate reached the number of 900 members.<sup>1</sup> The pride of the nobles avenged itself by raillery. "The Gauls," said they, "have changed their *braccæ* for the laticlave," and notices were posted up in the streets begging the people not to show the new Conscript Fathers the way to the Curia. But these senators were docile; they did without a murmur all that their master wished, and even more than he wished; they were not offended when *senatus-consulta*, resolved upon by Cæsar alone or by the privy council convened in his house, were published in their name. One day Cicero received the thanks of a prince of Asia, who, he said, owed him his title, but of whose very existence Cicero knew nothing. He laughed, for he had conformed himself to the times, and half consoled by the royalty which he always held, that of intellect, he showed his regrets only by sarcastic jests. This character of witty critic delighted Cæsar; it refreshed him after the adulation. Every morning Cicero's witticisms were reported to him, and he made a collection of them. One day he invited himself to dinner at Cicero's house,<sup>3</sup> and was delightful, his host said, but the conversation was altogether on literary subjects. Much as he loved wit, the old *consularis*, who had always considered himself a statesman, was nettled at hearing not a word of serious matters.



Cæsar,  
Chief Pontiff.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cæsar, *Bell. Afric.*, 28; Dion, xlii. 51, and xliii. 27, 47; . . . μὲν διακρίνων, μήτ' εἴ τις στρατιώτης μήτ' εἴ τις ἀπειλοῦρον παῖς ἦν; Cic., *ad Fam.*, vi. 12; Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 76; *quosdam e semi-barbaris Gallorum*. Sylla had already brought the number of senators up to 660; Suet., *ibid.*, 80; *Bonum factum: ne quis senatori novo curiam monstrare vellet*; Dion, xliii. 27; Cic., *ad Fam.*, ix. 15.

<sup>2</sup> CÆSAR IM. P(ontifex) M(aximus): a crescent behind Cæsar's head crowned with laurel.

<sup>3</sup> In the account Cicero gave to Atticus of that day (xiii. 52), he said of Cæsar; *accubuit, ἐμπικρὴν αἰχματ; itaque et edit et bibit ἀδελῶς et jucunde*. Many moderns are in the habit of exciting the appetite before going to table, or of stimulating it afresh by a sherbet taken in the middle of the repast. The means are different; the end is the same,—to eat more than is necessary. But the Roman proceeding is singularly disgusting; *Vomunt ut edant, edunt ut romant*. (Sen., *Cons. ad. Helv.*, 9.) With all their elegancies this nation combined remarkable coarseness. Cicero and his contemporaries thought the thing quite natural and a politeness to the host on the part of the guest, in order to honour the feast.



One day the senate went in a body to the temple of *Venus Genetrix* to present to Cæsar certain decrees drawn up in his honour. The demi-god was ill, and dared not leave his couch.

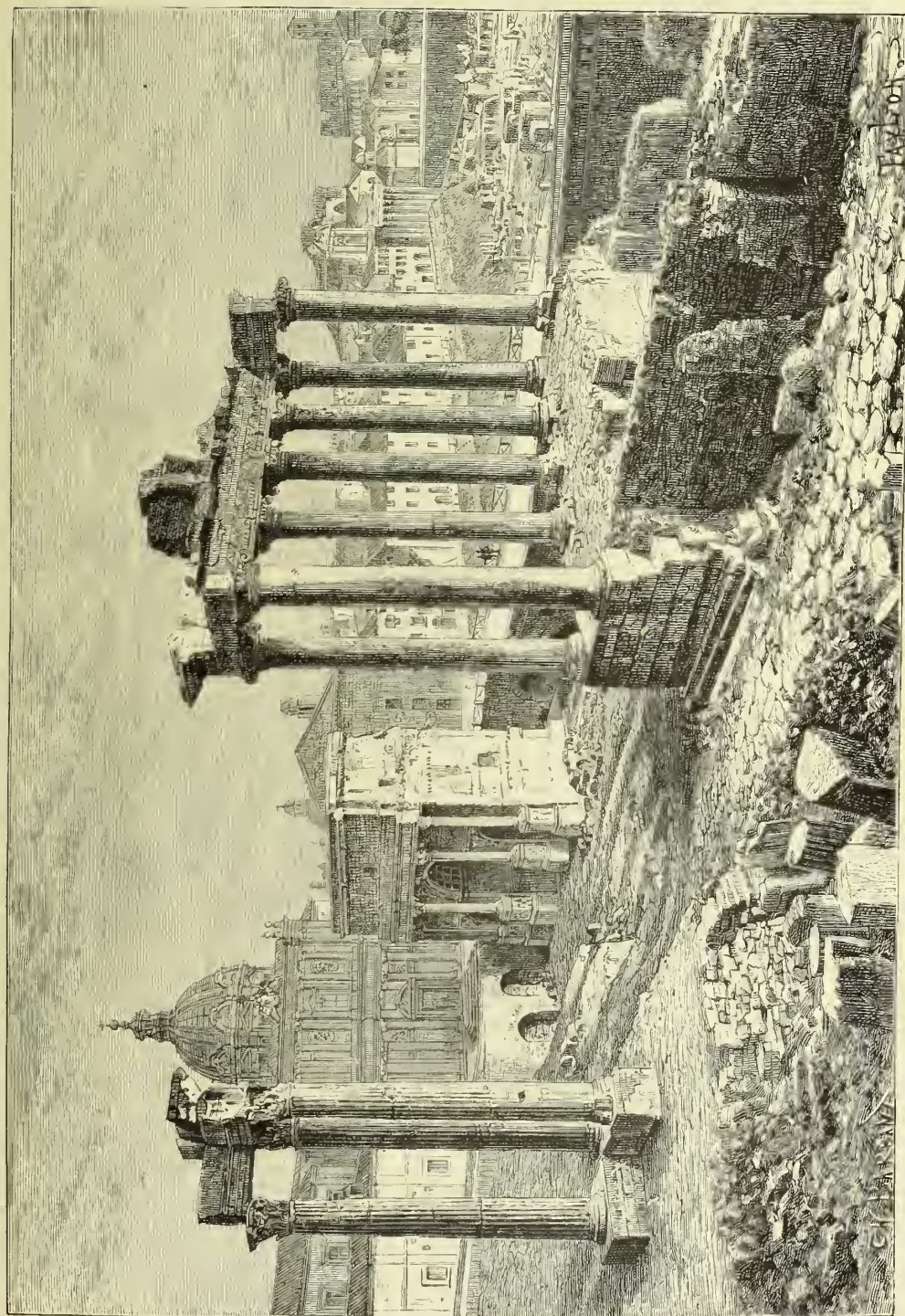
This was imprudent, for the report spread that he had not deigned to rise. Had he treated the senate with some dignity he would perhaps have succeeded in making it regarded as the legal representative of the people, and he would have added more authority to his own rule. Augustus did not make the same mistake.

He had already increased the number of the members of the sacerdotal colleges, of the prætors, the questors, and the ædiles;<sup>1</sup> he could not nominate more than two consuls, but the new theory of substituted consuls allowed him to give this high office to several persons in one year. The consul Fabius died on the 31st of December, 45; in a few hours the year would be ended; nevertheless a successor was appointed. "What a vigilant consul," exclaimed Cicero; "during his whole magistracy he has never slept!"

Very few patricians remained; never had consul or dictator created them; it was a kingly, almost a divine right. Cæsar created some,<sup>2</sup> a privilege apparently very important, but without real political significance, for it merely served to keep alive certain religious functions belonging to the ancient *gentes*. His nephew, the young Octavius, received at this time his patent of nobility; Cicero, the burgher of Arpinum, yielded to temptation and took his. Even the triumph lost its high character. Only a general-in-chief had the right of obtaining it; he granted it to his lieutenants. It was a religious infraction, for a lieutenant fought under the auspices of his chief. But Cæsar, who believed neither in auspices nor in gods, believed in talent, and gave the reward to him who had deserved it. Nor had he more respect for the religious formalities of the Forum. One day, when they had taken the auspices for the assembling of the tribes, he convoked the centuries.

<sup>1</sup> Sixteen prætors, forty quæstors, six ædiles, sixteen pontiffs, augurs, quin-decemvirs each. (Dion, xliii. 47.) Thus the quæstors gave forty new members to the senate each year.

<sup>2</sup> Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 41; Dion (Hal., i. 85) says that in his day there were not more than fifty families of *Trojan origin* left.



The Roman Forum.





The people still had their comitia; they made the laws and conferred office; outwardly they were still the sovereign power, but life was lacking in their assemblies, for the candidates knew that it was Cæsar's favour rather than that of the people they must seek. Some of them had but lately been known to go as far as Spain to canvass for the dictator's support.

An important innovation was the institution of *legati pro prætore*. Hitherto the legionary tribunes in succession commanded the whole legion for two months each; the legate now became its permanent chief. This was a necessary concentration of the command, and these legates, nominated by the *imperator*, answered better for the execution of his orders, for the discipline and fidelity of the army.<sup>1</sup>

The Romans were great builders, and this taste their new master shared with them. The Forum, at the foot of the Capitol, was the true centre of the town; there for six centuries the heart of old Rome had throbbed, and there her most sumptuous buildings had been raised;<sup>2</sup> Cæsar removed the comitia thence, relegating them to the *Septu Julia*, in the Campus Martius, immense porticoes capable of sheltering 25,000 persons; he sent the pleaders to the Julian forum which he had built for them, and where he placed a white marble temple of *Venus Genetrix*, the founder of his race. The Forum being thus cleared, he wished to make it the most magnificent place in the world, but already his days were numbered.

There still remains as a noteworthy monument of Cæsar's legislation—that municipal law, so often mentioned in the *Digest*, which shows, notwithstanding its fragmentary condition, how this powerful mind perceived the need of supplying to cities the elements of a common organization in order to bring them into a homogeneous whole. This law is not drawn up in the interest of any party, for to Cæsar there was no party but the State. He left to the towns their free elections and their own jurisdiction; he excluded from their senate every man whose honour was

<sup>1</sup> This was no doubt the time of the legal suppression of the nomination of military tribunes by the people, which since the commencement of the civil wars must have fallen into desuetude.

<sup>2</sup> The engraving on p. 385 gives the three columns of the temple of Vespasian, the arch of Septimius Severus, and the eight columns of the temple of Saturn.



tarnished; he prescribed to them measures of ædileship demanded by public health; lastly, he required of them a quinquennial census which should furnish a sure basis for the assessment of local taxes. In ordering that the result of this operation should be sent to Rome, he gave the means of assigning to every Italian the century in which he ought to vote, a measure of order, and perhaps he showed the municipalities a device by which to stop the abuses arising in their financial administration, a measure of justice.<sup>1</sup>

Against the absolute power of kings the moderns have applied the representative system. Against the despotism of the emperors the Romans had long established municipal liberties, which almost sufficed for the good administration of city affairs, because in the early empire the princes governed and did not administer. The *lex Julia*, which has undoubtedly served as a model for much legislation in colonies and municipalities, was therefore a benefit to the nations, since it furthered the development of that grand municipal life which for more than two centuries caused the prosperity of the provinces.<sup>2</sup>

It has another character; it marks the revolution that was working. Made for Italy, it was also made for Rome, so that the town to which the oligarchy had attempted to confine the whole Republic, whence the senate was to hold sway for ever over Italy and the provinces, became an Italian municipality. Rome continued

<sup>1</sup> Under the empire, a *magister a censibus*, or a *magister a libellis*, received the requests for reduction of taxes addressed to the prince. (L. Renier, *Mélanges d'épigr.*, p. 46-70.)

<sup>2</sup> The two tables of bronze found in 1732 in the bed of the Cavonus in Lucania, called the *Tables of Heraclea*, and which date from the year 45, are unfortunately very incomplete. The first chapters, which remain to us, prescribe the formalities to be observed in order to participate in the distributions of the annona, the attention to be paid to the keeping in repair of the streets, the causeways, and the footpaths, for the traffic of cars, the removal of mud and refuse, the public leases, etc. It is in a word, a regulation of ædileship for Rome and the towns of Italy. Next come the provisions relating to the *curiæ*, or municipal senates, the members of which were elected for life, like the Roman senators, and the conditions to be fulfilled in canvassing the decurionate (thirty years of age, three years service in the cavalry or six in the infantry); the long list of those whom the law declares incapable of holding any public office—the herald, the director of funeral pomps or his assistant, the insolvent debtor, the man convicted of fraud, the slanderer, the *prevaricator*, those who have been expelled from the army, those who have hired themselves to fight in the arena, those who have traded with their body, and all those whom we afterwards find in the categories of the *humiliores* of the *Digest*. Lastly, chapter xi. requires the municipal officers to send to Rome within sixty days from the time the enumeration was made the census of their municipality, which was to be executed according to the formula drawn up for Rome.

to be the residence of the *imperator* of the magistrates and of the sacerdotal colleges, the city of marble palaces and statues of gold; she remained the capital of the Empire, but she was no longer the sovereign city. The Italians had the same rights as her citizens, with analogous institutions; many of the provincials were already in the same condition; and when Cæsar was in Spain, in Africa, or in Asia, the whole government was there with him. The transformation which we have set forth as necessary since the wars of Samnium and of Pyrrhus, was therefore, in course of accomplishment.

If to these laws we add one *de Sacerdotiis*, which has been lost, but is mentioned in one of Cicero's letters, and of which we find one provision in the bronzes of Osuna, we shall see that Cæsar had included the whole of the Roman institutions in his vast scheme of reform.

Thus everything was changed in reality, but, viewed from a distance, it seemed that very few things were new. The royalty of Cæsar recalled that of Pompey, of Sylla, of Marius, even of C. Gracchus. No court, no guards surrounded the master; he dwelt in the *Regia*, the residence of the chief pontiff, where he lived amidst a few friends whose faithfulness he had long since proved—Lepidus and Marc Antony, to whom he had entrusted Rome and Italy during his first war in Spain; Hirtius, the writer of the eighth book of the *Commentaries of the Gallic Wars*; C. Oppius and Cornelius Balbus of Gades, the confidants of his most secret thoughts; the Roman knight Mamurra, his clever engineer (*præfectus fabrum*), and others. Freedmen drew up the despatches, the substance of which a clear and exact minute had given them. This government of 60,000,000 men was carried on in a few rooms.

The higher nobles remained apart, not from honours, but from power; but they forgot neither Pharsalia nor Thapsus. They would have consented to obey on condition of having the appearance of commanding. This disguised obedience is for an able government more convenient than outward servility. A few concessions made to vanity obtain tranquil possession of power. This was the policy of Augustus, but it is not that of great ambitions or of a true statesman. These pretences leave

everything doubtful; nothing is settled; and Cæsar wished to lay the foundations of a government which should bring a new order of things out of a chaos of ruins. Unless we are paying too much attention to mere anecdotes, he desired the royal diadem. The consulship, the dictatorship, the office of *præfectus morum*, all this, even the life tenure of them, seemed still to belong to the Republic; the name of king would have introduced monarchy, heredity in power, order in administration, unity in law. It is difficult not to believe that Cæsar considered the constituting of a monarchical power as the rational achievement of the revolution which he was carrying out. In this way we could explain the persistence of his friends in offering him a title odious to the Romans, who were quite ready to accept a monarch, but not monarchy.<sup>1</sup> One morning, wreaths of laurel interlaced with the royal diadem were seen on his statues. Two tribunes removed them and imprisoned those who had placed them there. Another day, when he had just been celebrating on the Alban Mount the Latin *feriæ*, among the eries which greeted his progress was heard that of king. "I do not call myself king," said he, "but Cæsar." The tribunes again caused the offenders to be seized. This time Cæsar was displeased with their excessive zeal; he accused them in the senate of having anticipated his justice, and they were dismissed notwithstanding their inviolability.

No one was deceived as to the motive of this anger. At the festival of the Lupercalia, on the 15th of February, 44, the dictator, with his head encircled with a wreath of laurel, sat on his chair of gold on the rostra. Antony, then consul-elect, offered him a diadem, saying; "Behold what the Roman people send thee." The crowd remained silent; Cæsar thrust it aside, and applause broke forth. A second time he rejected it; there were cheers throughout all the Forum. "Jupiter," said Cæsar, "is the only king of the Romans; to him this diadem belongs." Then he caused it to be carried to the Capitol. In the *Fasti* he commanded it to be written that the Roman people by one of their consuls had offered him royalty, and that he had refused it. But at the same time the report spread that the Sibylline Books,

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *Philipp.*, ii. 34; Dion, xliv. 11.

on being consulted, had replied that the Parthians would be conquered only by a king.

In order to attain to this royal title, the culmination of all others, or rather, in order to cover the power gained in civil war by glory acquired in a national one, he must mount still higher, and this new greatness he would seek in the East.



Coin of Caesar of the Year 44.<sup>1</sup>

Grave events were happening in the valley of the Danube. A clever chief, Byrebistas, assisted by the high priest of Zalmoxis, had just effected among the Getae a political and religious revolution. He had united all their tribes into one national body, had torn up all the vines of the country in order to condemn the inhabitants to sobriety, and had subjected to the severest discipline these men who believed they went to a blissful immortality when they died in battle. He had already crossed the Danube at the head of 200,000 men. Towns were reduced to ashes; multitudes of men, women, and children were carried off to the foot of the Carpathians to cultivate the fields of their new masters; Thrace, Macedonia, and Illyria trembled.<sup>2</sup> To stop this invasion was not the same thing as the mad project which has been attributed to Caesar of subjugating the whole barbarian world. It was to contend with a new Ariovistus, more formidable than the first, and by his defeat to guarantee the frontier of the Danube, as the defeat of the Suevi had guaranteed that of the Rhine.

Into Asia other reasons summoned him. It was meet that he should wipe out the second military humiliation of Rome after effacing the first; that he should avenge Crassus; recapture in conquered Ctesiphon the eagles of the legions; reopen the way home, to the Romans who were in captivity among the barbarians. This war was popular at Rome. When Cæsar returned from Munda, Cicero, who is often an echo of opinion, prepared a letter, in which, congratulating him on his successes in Spain, he promised him still greater at the other extremity of the world.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, after Cæsar had obtained the right to put his image on the coinage. CÆSAR DICT. QVART.; head of Cæsar crowned with laurel; behind it, the *lituus*.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, vii. 3, 5, and 11; Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 44. Byrebistas was killed in an insurrection about the time of Cæsar's death, and the Getan empire fell with him.

<sup>3</sup> *Ad Att.*, xiii. 27 and 30.



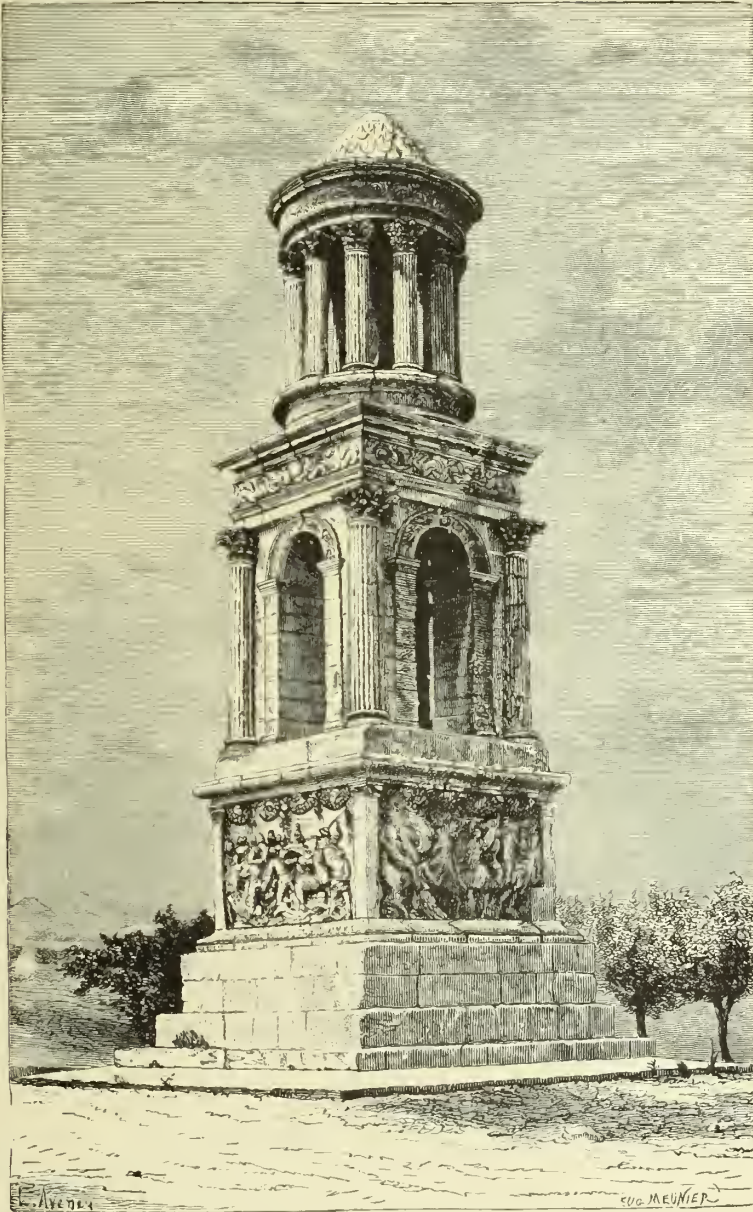
The nobles approved of this expedition, during which the arrow of a Parthian might perhaps do what the sword of the Gaul had not done, and we do not exaggerate Cicero's inmost sentiments when we suppose that this homicidal idea which had occurred to him more than once had crept in under his brilliant panegyric, as the asp of Cleopatra hid itself amongst the flowers. But this war pleased Cæsar's manly genius, his soldierly instincts, and his ideas of policy. This work accomplished, the glorious leader, whose horse had drunk of the waters of the Danube and the Tigris, of the Thames and the rivers of Africa, would have returned to assume in his Babylon of the west the crown of Alexander, or, failing that, to make everyone recognize the necessity for such a vast empire, of a monarchical government, whatever name the monarch might assume. Then, as peaceful master of the world, he he would have cut the isthmus of Corinth, drained the Pontine marshes, pierced the mountains enclosing Lake Fucinus, and laid down a high road across the Apennines from the Adriatic to the Tuscan Sea. Rome, the capital of the universal empire, would be enlarged by all the space that the Tiber would yield, diverted from its bed at the Pons Milvius and flowing to the west of the Janiculum. In the Vatican plain a colossal temple to Mars; at the foot of the Tarpeian Rock an immense amphitheatre; at Ostia a large and safe harbour.<sup>1</sup>

But these were to be the least of his labours. Firmly persuaded of the need of organizing this assemblage of nations, which the sword had joined together, but the law kept asunder, he was anxious to collect and arrange all the Roman laws in one single code, in order to simplify and spread the knowledge of them everywhere. Already one of his intimate friends, the learned *juris-consultus* Aulus Ofilius, had undertaken a codification of the prætorian edicts,<sup>2</sup> and he himself had had drawn up for the whole of Italy the municipal law which all the provincial cities were to copy. In order to secure the provinces against senatorial exactions, he forbade the senators to appear there without an official

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Cæsar* — Dion, xliii. 50; xliv. 5; Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Is fuit Cæsari familiarissimus libros de jure civili plurimos reliquit. . . . Edictum prætoris primus diligenter composuit.* (Dig., i. 2, 2, 44.) Salvius Julianus resumed this work under Hadrian.

commission, and he paid the governors, that they might not pay themselves by continuing the extortions of former times.<sup>1</sup> He



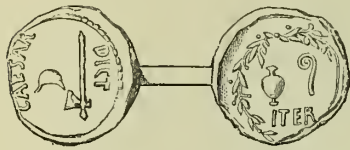
Mausoleum of Julius (see its bas-reliefs, p. 172 and 173).

remembered that a consul of his name and his race gave the Roman citizenship to the Italians, and though the time had not

<sup>1</sup> Dion, liii. 15.

come for bestowing the same right on all subjects, he at least increased the Roman element amongst them; 80,000 colonists carried across the seas the customs and language of Rome. The whole of Sicily was about to obtain the *jus Latii*; the *civitas* was conferred on the Transpadani,<sup>1</sup> on the legion of "the Lark,"<sup>2</sup> on all who had served him faithfully, and even on Jews. On the banks of the Loire, the Seine, and the Rhone numbers of Gauls bore his name, and one of these families had already perhaps erected in his honour a beautiful building, the mausoleum of the Julii, which recalls their gratitude and his battles.

He had rewards for those who had been useful to him in time of war; many provincials were admitted to his senate; he had rewards too for those who were useful in peace; he gave the citizenship to foreign physicians and professors of the liberal arts settled at Rome, that is to say, to the aristocracy of intellect, as the senate had formerly granted it to the aristocracy of the municipia of Latium. We see by a fragment of Gaius (I. 33) that the *jus quiritorium* was guaranteed to the provincial who devoted a part of his patrimony to the building of some public edifice. This law, which has covered the Roman world with monuments, appears to be borrowed from the *lex Julia* of Cæsar.



*Aureus of Cæsar.*

During the African war he had seen in a dream a large army in tears demanding back from him their fatherland; on his awakening he had written on his tablets the names of Corinth and Carthage. These two ruined towers testified to the vengeance of the senate; he had restored them. Thus great injustices were repaired, bonds multiplied, reconciliations effected.

<sup>1</sup> He gave them the right of citizenship and a municipal constitution. (Dion, xli. 36.) In 42 the Transpadane obtained the *jus Italicum*, that is to say, exemption from the land-tax and from military service. It still retained however, its character of province for some time, for Manius reproaches Octavius with having taken it away from Antouy by declaring it free. (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 3, and 22; Dion, xlviii. 12.) The number of citizens, which was only, according to *Epit.* xcvi. of Livy, 450,000 in the year 70, had increased tenfold in the year 28. Some writers double the figure of the year 70; still the increase is enormous, and must be attributed to Cæsar for the most part.

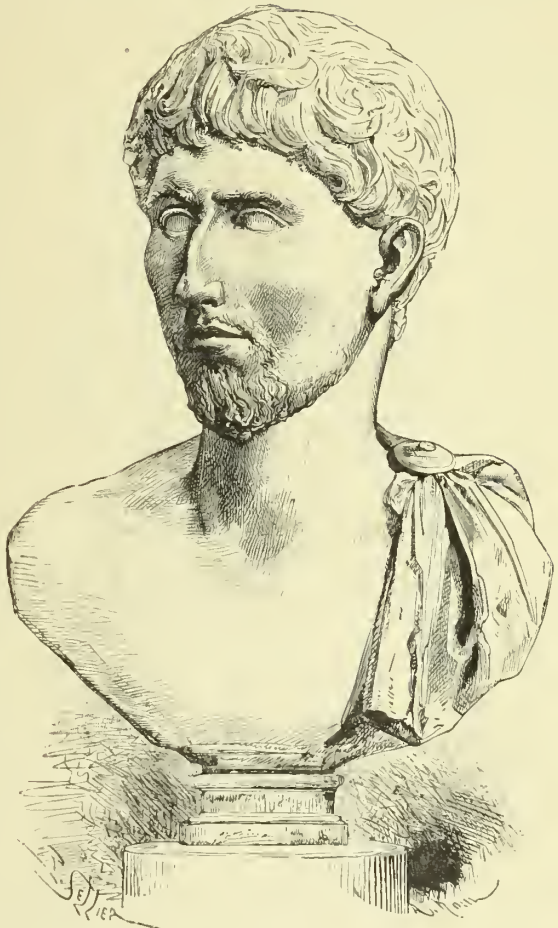
<sup>2</sup> The soldiers of this legion were called *Alaudæ*, the Larks, *ex legione Alaudarum*, says Cicero. (*Philipp.*, i. 8, etc.)

<sup>3</sup> The *aureus* of Cæsar was worth £1 1s. 7d., and was coined in enormous quantities. It



Long ago the Hellenic divinities had received the right of Roman citizenship; the writers who had made the glory of foreign nations were now in their turn to obtain it. Varro was charged to collect in a public library all the productions of human thought, in order that Rome might be also the metropolis of intellect. The people's turn would come after that of their gods and their great men.

With this noble design of reparation and unity were connected the monetary reform, which made the *aureus* of Cæsar the most convenient coin for commerce and the standard of value under the Empire; the reform of the calendar so thoroughly accomplished that, with a slight modification, the Julian calendar is still used



Lepidus.

by us;<sup>2</sup> lastly, the order given to three Greek geometers to survey the Empire in order to measure the distances, and draw up

was of pure metal, exact weight, and was put in circulation for its real value, which fact, after the monetary disturbances of recent times, caused it to be received with great favour. We say the *aureus* was worth £1 1s. 7d. because it contained 121·26 grains of fine metal. Only one estimate of the value of coins is really possible, that of their intrinsic value found by aid of weighing and chemical analyses which make known the quantity of fine metal they contain. As to their exchange value, it is very difficult to fix, seeing that the proportion of value between metals is constantly changing in consequence of the abundance of one and the rarity of another, and because the power of exchange, that is to say, the quantity of merchandize one can obtain with a certain sum, is not the same, either in all ages or even all the localities of a country.

<sup>1</sup> Bust of the triumvir Lepidus found at Tor Sapienza. (Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, No. 106.)

<sup>2</sup> See p. 370.



the register of the survey, a work preliminary to a re-organization of provincial and financial administration.<sup>1</sup>

In order to accomplish such things time was necessary, and Cæsar had lost more than a quarter of a century in rising to the first rank. But he was only fifty-seven. He had still years enough before him to complete his great designs. The prepara-



Victory of Apollonia.<sup>2</sup>

tions for war against the Parthians were finished; he had distributed the offices and provinces for three years (44-42). Antonius was his colleague in the consulship, and he had promised Dolabella that he would abdicate in his favour when he set out for Asia. Hirtius and Pansa were to have the fasces in 43; Decimus Brutus and Numatius Plancus in 42. Brutus and Cassius were prætors. Lepidus was to resign to Domitius Calvinus the office of master of the horse in order to take the

government of Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior. Asinius Pollio received that of Hispania Ulterior; the other provinces were equally distributed. Sixteen legions had crossed the Adriatic, and the young Octavius, his adopted son, awaited him at Apollonia; a few days more and Cæsar would have been in the midst of his faithful veterans. A report spread that before leaving Rome he would make a last effort with the senate, and that, at the sitting announced for the ides of March, it would be discussed whether Cæsar, while remaining dictator in Italy, could not wear the crown in the provinces as king of the subject nations. This day of the

<sup>1</sup> This work, continued after Cæsar's time, served to draw up the famous chart of Agrippa (pl. lii. 3) and to assess the taxes in a much fairer way according to the nature of the lands. (See vol. iv. chapter lxvii. 2.)

<sup>2</sup> Museum of the Louvre.

ides, which in the opinion of the last of the republicans would establish tyranny for ever, they fixed upon for the day of expiation.

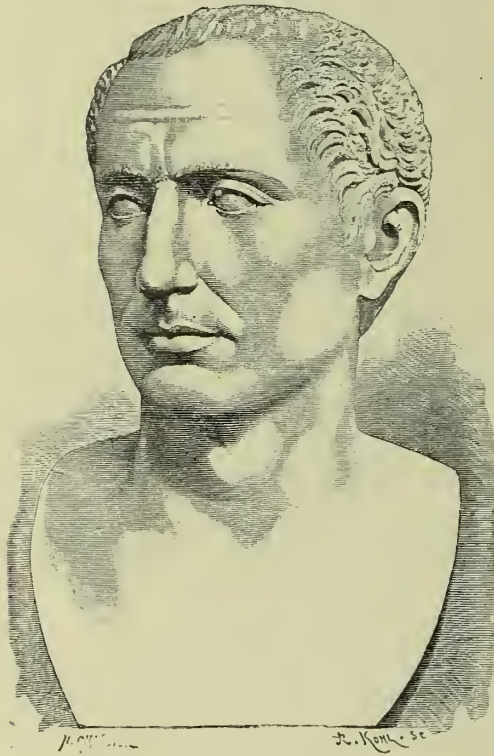
#### IV.—CONSPIRACY ; ASSASSINATION OF CÆSAR.

The swords broken at Pharsalia, at Thapsus, and at Munda were exchanged for daggers. A conspiracy had been formed several months previously, for all the republicans had not fallen in the battles of the Civil war; some might be found even surrounding Cæsar and amongst his friends.

This party was composed of malcontents whose services had not been rewarded according to their wishes, and of men sated with wealth and honours, who had nothing more to expect from Cæsar, and who thought it would get a good thing to be rid of a chief who was so predominant. With them were found enthusiasts to whom the Republic was a religion, and theorists who aired empty speculations instead of observing facts. Then came the brawlers of the Forum, who could no longer arrive at power by seditious harangues, and the conservatives whose interests and habits resented every innovation, even the most necessary. Resigned beforehand to be the booty of the conqueror, they were none the less Republican at heart, like Atticus, the perfect type of an egotist, who from Sylla to Augustus managed to live through all the civil wars and proscriptions without losing fortune or life. Others, former consuls, prætors, and governors of provinces, who had each enjoyed two or three years of sovereignty, did not like the idea of falling into the condition of those servile nations of the East, always prostrate at the feet of one man. Amongst them were found very honest men, Cicero for example, who had made his fortune by speeches, and whom silence exasperated.<sup>1</sup> Having no more to make speeches, he wrote gloomy books, such as the first *Tusculan* on the contempt of death, which implied that it was not possible to live under the government of Cæsar. Other persons appointed to high offices showed in private the same anger, while

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, far more than Lucan, was the originator of the legend about Roman liberty being killed by Cæsar.

all the time they were in liberal enjoyment of the master's favour. Such were Turfanius, commander in Sicily, Cornificius in Africa, Servilius Isauricus in Asia, Sulpicius in Greece. They discussed confidentially the misfortunes of the Republic, and one of them, to console Cicero on the death of his daughter, wrote to him: "Fortune has deprived us of the possessions which we ought to love as much as our children, fatherland, dignity, and all our honours.



Julius Caesar.<sup>2</sup>

What signifies a fresh disgrace added to all our misfortunes? In the sad times in which we live they are the happiest who, without grief, exchange their life for death." To love one's fatherland as much as one's children is well; but in Caesar's hands the country was in no peril; one thing only was in danger, and they themselves said so, their honours and their dignities.<sup>1</sup>

At Pharsalia they might have still hoped that the struggle was the conflict of two ambitions which would be extinguished like that of Sylla in the enjoyment of constitutional powers; after Thapsus, after Munda, no one could any

longer doubt that monarchy would be established. Since the foundation of the Republic the Roman aristocracy had skilfully fostered among the people a horror of the name of king. With this word they had rid themselves of Sp. Cassius, of Manlius, of Mælius, and of the first of the Gracchi; with it they again succeeded in freeing themselves of Caesar. "It was you," exclaimed Cicero afterwards in one of his *Philippics* against Antony, "it was you who killed

<sup>1</sup> . . . *Honestatem, dignitatem, honores omnes.* (Sulpicius to Cicero, *ad Fam.*, iv. 5.)

<sup>2</sup> Museum of Naples. A colossal bust belonging to the Farnese collection, considered one of the authentic portraits of Caesar.

Cæsar at the festival of the Lupercalia when you offered him the royal diadem." And Cicero spoke truly. Though the monarcheial solution answered to the needs of the times, it was almost inevitable that the first monarch should pay for his royalty, like Henry IV. of France, with his life.

The chief of the conspiracy was C. Cassius Longinus,<sup>1</sup> the general who had saved the army of Crassus, and had, almost without troops, defended Syria against the Parthians. After Pharsalia, he had been pardoned, and Cæsar had just given him the prætorship with the government of Syria, but this ambitious and malignant man did not forgive the dictator for having



Coin  
of Megara.<sup>1</sup>



Coin  
of Megara.

nominated M. Junius Brutus to the urban prætorship before him. He had older grievances. Before his ædileship he kept lions at Megara; Cæsar had taken them from him; besides, he was conscious of being only second in the master's favour. He resolved to overthrow him by assassination, since open war had not succeeded. Accomplices were necessary; he naturally sought them in the Pompeian party, where the ranks were so cleared that he saw no one who could prove an obstacle to him. He sounded Brutus.

As nephew and son-in-law[?] of Cato,<sup>3</sup> Brutus seemed to be the inheritor of his virtues, and he ended in being inheritor of his passion for that oligarchical government which restricted equality to a small number, but gave to those few men a singular greatness. He remained a long time without taking any side. Though during the first Civil war he had declared for Pompey, the assassin of his father,<sup>4</sup> it was with very little ardour, for on the eve of Pharsalia, when all the camp was in commotion, he was reading and annotating Polybius. His mother Servilia had been the object of the most ardent and persevering of Cæsar's affections, and before the battle he gave orders that care should be taken to spare young Brutus. From Larissa the young man sent his submission to the

<sup>1</sup> He must not be confounded with Q. Cassius Longinus, one of Cæsar's lieutenants.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Apollo crowned with laurel. On the reverse, ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ, and a seven-stringed lyre. Bronze coin of Megara.

<sup>3</sup> Cato had two daughters named Portia. Th. Mommsen does not believe that the wife of Brutus was one of the two. (Cf. *Hermes*, vol. xv. p. 99.)

<sup>4</sup> See vol. ii. p. 745.



conqueror, by whom he was received with kindness, and obtained from him the government of Gallia Cisalpina, although he had not before held any great office. He showed himself grateful, did not rejoin the Pompeians either in Africa or in Spain; and when the ex-consul Marcellus, recalled by the dictator, fell in Athens by an assassin, he composed a pamphlet exonerating Cæsar, who was accused of the murder. Thus it was said that Cassius hated only the tyrant; Brutus loved him, but detested the tyranny. This was not quite true, because we see him without scruple solicit offices from Cæsar, who gave him the urban prætorship and the important governorship of Macedonia. But they laid siege to this soul, feeble under its apparent strength; Cassius represented to him that Rome would soon be replaced as capital of the Empire by Ilion and Alexandria, where their master would hold his royal court. Atticus had forged a genealogy for him which, notwithstanding the famous story of the execution of the sons of the first Brutus, made him out to be descended from the avenger of the aristocratic privileges.<sup>1</sup> In order to urge him, to win him over to the conspiracy, they represented to him that the nobles, the senate, and the populace had no hope but in him; they fascinated, they intoxicated him with the fierce doctrine of tyrannicide. At the foot of the statue of the elder Brutus, and on the tribunal where he himself sat as prætor, he found written: "O Brutus, would to heaven thou wert still alive!" If thy spirit but breathed in one of thy descendants!" And, again, "Sleepest thou, Brutus?" "Nay, thou art not Brutus!"

It was not without long struggles that Cæsar's friend yielded to these temptations. During his sleepless nights he recalled what he had heard chaunted in Athens in the midst of religious solemnities: "I'll wreath my sword in the myrtle bough, the sword that laid the tyrant low." He repeated to himself, "Our ancestors too did not believe that one could endure a master." In a very noble and very haughty letter written later, we read these hard words: "If my father rose from his tomb to assume an authority superior to the laws and the senate, I would not

<sup>1</sup> It has been said that Cæsar believed him to be his son; their respective ages are an objection to this, but not an insuperable one. Cæsar was seventeen years older than Brutus, who was born in 85.

tolerate it." He succumbed to these sophisms of the schools wherein politics had no place, and in order to preserve for the senate a power which he confounded with liberty, he decided on the murder of the man who had been to him as a father. Like all fanatics possessed with one idea, he believed that he was the instrument of a necessary vengeance, and celebrated as the day of his deliverance that in which his resolution was taken.<sup>1</sup>

His name gained others; Ligarius, who forgot Cæsar's clemency; Pontius Aquila, a former tribune, who had recently taken his office in earnest, to the great amusement of the dictator and his friends; Sextius Naso, Rubrius Ruga, Cæcilius Bucilianus and his brother; Decimus Brutus, one of the best lieutenants of Cæsar, who had richly rewarded him,<sup>2</sup> and L. Tullius Cimber, whom Cæsar had also loaded with favours; the two Cæscas; Trebonius, a general unfortunate in Spain, and who did not consider the promise of an early consulship sufficient for his merits;

Brutus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Neque incolumis Cæsare viro fui, nisi postea quam illud conscivi facinus.* (Cic., *ad Brut.*, 16; Cf. *ibid.*, 17.) We have seen (vol. ii. p. 632) that Brutus had no pity for the provincials, and that he exercised most shameful usury. Montesquieu says (*Grand. et déc. des Rom.*, chap. xi.): "There was a certain law of nations in the Republics of Greece and Italy which led people to regard the assassin of one who had usurped sovereign power as a virtuous man." I cannot concede this law in the case of Rome. Tarquin the Proud was expelled less as a tyrant than as a foreign ruler. (Vol. i. p. 134.) Cassius (*ibid.*, p. 172), Mælius (*ibid.*, 237), Manlius (*ibid.*, 279), and the Gracchi (vol. ii., chap. xxxviii.), were victims of the aristocracy and not usurpers or men who wished to be such. I find among ancient authors no one but Cicero who glorified the murder of Cæsar; Suetonius merely says (*Julius Cæsar*, 76); *Prægravant cetera facta dictaque ejus, ut . . . jure casus existimetur.*

<sup>2</sup> He possessed more than half a million of money. (*ad Fam.*, xi. 10.)

<sup>3</sup> Bust from the Museum of Naples, No. 876. It was found at Pompeii in November, 1869, in the house of Popidius.

Sulpicius Galbā, irritated at being refused that office; Minucius Basilus, one of the dictator's favourite officers, who had not yet obtained a province; Cassius of Parma, Antistius Labeo, Petronius, Turullius; in all about sixty; far more than was necessary to assassinate a man who took no care of himself. Favonius, the imitator of Cato, had not forgotten the experience of the last four years; sounded by Brutus, he replied that the most unjust monarchy was preferable to civil war. Cicero, though connected with the chief conspirators, knew nothing; nevertheless he thoroughly deserved to be in the plot, for he had, even before Pharsalia, deemed the death of Cæsar necessary.<sup>1</sup> But they doubted his courage, and they were right. The brilliant advocate who remained, in spite of Cæsar's blandishments, the enemy of a government where speech was no longer everything, would have hesitated at the moment of action, and hindered the men whose ambition or fanaticism knew no scruples.

Cæsar received ample warnings. Some came from heaven, which men told after the event; fires seen in mid-air, sounds at night, the appearance in the Forum of birds of ill omen, the horses which he had driven at the passage of the Rubicon refusing to eat and shedding tears, a diviner who warned him to beware of the day of the ides, etc. He had more serious revelations; he was told of a conspiracy into which Brutus had entered. "Brutus," said he, touching himself, "will certainly await the end of this miserable body." One day however, when some one directed his suspicions towards Dolabella and Antony, "It is not these men who are such good table-companions that I dread, but people of pallid and lean countenance." He meant Brutus and Cassius. Antony was a faithful lieutenant, and Cæsar treated Dolabella with a favour which neither his age nor his services explained. He was a young noble of turbulent character, overwhelmed with debts, longing for proscriptions to pay them, and displeased with the dictator, who made none. He was justly suspected, for we shall see how on the day following the ides of March he joined the murderers. Cæsar, without fearing him, kept a watch on

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 284, the 2nd *Philippic* (*passim*), and a letter to Decimus Brutus (*ad Fam.* xi. 5).

him. When outside Rome he rode past the house of Dolabella, the soldiers of his prætorian cohort, instead of following him, surrounded his horse.

Cæsar grew impatient of these whispered threats, and refused to believe them, or at least to think of them. "Rome," said he, "is more interested in my life than I;" and he had dismissed his Spanish guard.<sup>1</sup> On the night before the ides, supping at the house of Lepidus with one of the conspirators, the conversation turned on death: "The best," he said, "is the least expected; better die once than be continually in fear."

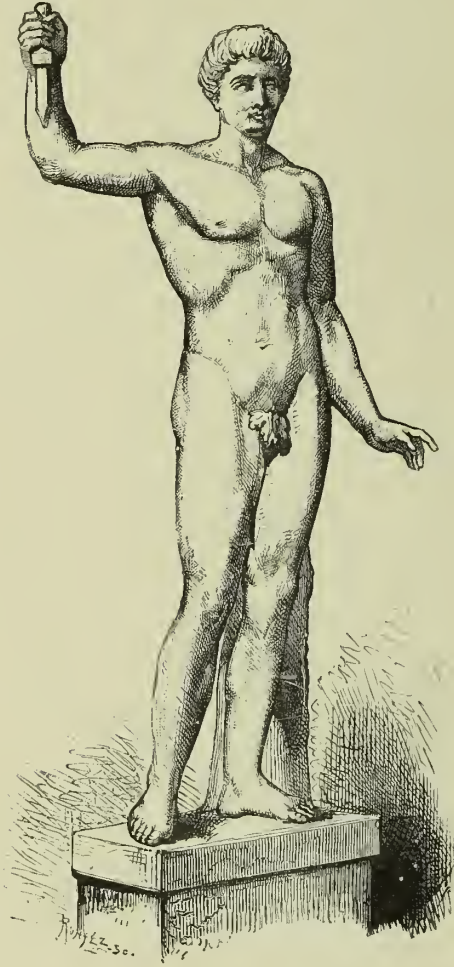
The conspirators were uneasy, unsettled. Cassius wished to kill Antony and Lepidus, together with their chief. Brutus insisted that only one blow should be struck; in his delusion he imagined that, were the tyrant once dead, liberty would revive of itself, and he was unwilling to stain his triumph with more blood. In public his demeanour was calm, his mind made up; but in solitude, especially at night, his trouble and agitation revealed the struggles of this diseased soul with its false heroism. His wife Portia saw that he meditated some great design; to prove her courage and strength, before asking him the secret, she gave herself, it is said, a severe wound in the thigh.

On the day of the ides (the 15th March, 44) the conspirators repaired early to the senate; several of them being obliged as prætors to dispense justice, sat in their court while awaiting Cæsar; he was late; Calpurnia, disturbed by a frightful dream, had desired that he should consult the victims, and the augurs had forbidden him to go out. He determined to postpone the sitting to another day; but at that moment Decimus Brutus entered; he made him ashamed of yielding to the vague fears of a woman, and taking his hand, drew him away. Cæsar had scarcely passed the threshold when a foreign slave, who had not been able to speak to him on account of the crowd, came and delivered himself up into the hands of Calpurnia, begging her to protect him until the return of Cæsar. Artemidorus of Cnidus, who taught Greek literature at Rome, conveyed to him the whole

<sup>1</sup> He appears however, to have retained his prætorian cohort or a body of troops. When he travelled to Campania in December, 45, going from villa to villa, he was accompanied by 2,000 soldiers. (*ad Att.*, xiii. 52.)



scheme of the conspiracy. "Read," he said to him, "this writing, alone and at once." He could not find time for it. The conspirators had other grounds for uneasiness. One man said to Casca: "You made your secret a mystery to me, but Brutus has



Brutus holding the Dagger.<sup>1</sup>

told me the matter." Casca, much astonished and troubled, was about to reveal everything, when the other added laughing: "And how could you become in so short a time rich enough to canvass the ædileship?" A senator, Popilius Lænas, saluting Brutus and Cassius more eagerly than usual, whispered to them: "I pray the gods to give a favourable issue to the scheme you meditate, but I advise you not to lose a moment, for it is no longer a secret." He departed, leaving in their minds great misgivings that the conspiracy was discovered.

Meanwhile Portia had not been able to endure the anguish of suspense; she had swooned, they thought she was dead, and a slave ran to announce it to Brutus.

Subduing his grief he entered the senate, where Cæsar at last arrived. "At the doors of the Curia the same Popilius Lænas, who knew everything, had a long conversation with Cæsar, to which the dictator seemed to give the greatest attention. The conspirators, who could not hear what he said, feared he was denouncing them; they glanced at

<sup>1</sup> Statue from the villa Albani. (Guattani, 1786, and Clarac, pl. 911, No. 2319.)

each other, and warned each other by a stern look not to wait until they were seized, but to forestall the lictors by a voluntary death. Cassius and some others had already put their hands under their robes to draw out a dagger, when Brutus perceived by the gestures of Lænas that the point in question between him and Caesar was a very earnest petition. He said nothing to the conspirators, for there were amongst them many senators who were not in the secret, but by the gaiety he exhibited he reassured Cassius, and soon afterwards Lænas, kissing Caesar's hand, withdrew.

“When the senate had entered into the hall the conspirators surrounded Caesar's seat, pretending to await him in order to speak to him of some matter, and Cassius, fixing his eyes, it is said, on the statue of Pompey, invoked it, as if it were able to hear him. Trebonius stopped Antony near the door and began a conversation in order to detain him outside of the hall. When Caesar entered, all the senators rose, and as soon as he was seated the conspirators, pressing round him, made Tullius Cimber, recently appointed governor of Bithynia, advance and request of Caesar the recall of his brother. They joined their prayers to his, taking Caesar's hand and kissing him on the breast and head. He at first refused such urgent prayers, and as they persisted, he rose to repel them by force. Then Tullius tore off the upper part of his toga, and Casca, who was behind him, struck the first blow; the wound was not a deep one. Caesar, seizing the hilt of the weapon, exclaimed in Latin; ‘Casca, thou villain. what doest thou?’ Casca, in the Greek tongue, called his brother to his aid. Assailed by so many blows all at once Caesar cast a look round to seek a defender; when he saw Brutus also lifting his dagger against him he let go Casca's hand, which he still held, and covering his head with his toga, he yielded his body to the swords of the conspirators. As they all struck at once and indiscriminately, and as they pressed closely around him several were wounded. Brutus, who was eager to have a share in the murder, received a wound in the hand; all the others were covered with blood.”<sup>1</sup> The hero fell at the foot of Pompey's statue.

<sup>1</sup> Of twenty-three wounds only one was mortal. (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 86.) Nicolaus Damascenus reckons them at thirty-five. Only two senators made any attempt to defend him; their names deserve to be remembered—Sabinus Calvisius and Censorinus.

## V.—ESTIMATE OF CÆSAR'S POLICY.

Cæsar was the most complete man that Rome ever produced, one in whom was shown the most harmonious development of all faculties: an orator of manly utterance;<sup>1</sup> a sober writer, free from the false glitter of hired eloquence; an intrepid soldier from the day when it became necessary, and a general equal to the greatest as soon as he appeared with the armies. His mind, open to the lessons of life, forgot none of the counsels which it gives,<sup>2</sup> and always calm amidst the wildest agitations, was obscured neither by anger nor by passion.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly he saw things in their true light and went straight at what was practicable. His vices did not disturb his strong intellect, his pleasures never injured his business.<sup>4</sup> Even his victories never dazzled him. Though founder of a military monarchy, he by no means gave the first place to the army; he continued master of his soldiers as of himself, and dominating from the summit of his fortune the world as it lay stretched at his feet, he never gave way to the intoxication of pride which has so often clouded the understanding even of superior men.

He had the greatest of advantages—favourable circumstances and mediocrity in his adversaries,<sup>5</sup> but he found another advantage in himself—the talent of transforming the men and the things of the moment into instruments suitable to his plans. As he alone, in the midst of blunderers, had a fixed purpose, his powerful and calm will made everything tend to a single end, and he attained it. What does the astonishing fidelity of the Gauls during the Civil war indicate but that cleverness in appropriating to himself

<sup>1</sup> Cicero says of Cæsar's style; *Nudi omni ornatu orationis, tanquam veste detracta*, and Mr. Froude adds; "Like an undraped human figure perfect in all its lines as nature made it." (*Cæsar*, p. 489.)

<sup>2</sup> He used to say that experience was a great master; *est rerum omnium magister usus*. (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 8.)

<sup>3</sup> *Moderate solebat irasci*. (Seneca, *de Ira*, ii. 23.) "He never gave way to passion." (Dion, xxxviii. 11.)

<sup>4</sup> See, on Cleopatra and on Cæsar's stay in Alexandria, p. 327.

<sup>5</sup> "Cæsar had not overthrown the oligarchy; their own incapacity, their own selfishness, their own baseness had overthrown them. Cæsar had been but the reluctant instrument of the power which metes out to men the inevitable penalties of their own misdeeds." (Froude, *Cæsar*, p. 471.) Merivale (*History of the Romans under the Empire*) and Arnold (*The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, 1879) are of nearly the same opinion as Mr. Froude.

living forces, which is the highest gift of a commander? More than once he did violence to fortune: in his youth by enormous debts; later by military rashness; but his audacity was calculated and his temerity prudent; they allowed him to demand every effort from his friends and soldiers. His army was his family, and he was loved by his soldiers with the most entire devotion. One of his centurions having fallen into the hands of the Pompeians in Africa, refused, though threatened with death, to enrol himself in the enemy's ranks; "Give me ten of my comrades," he said to Scipio, "send 500 of your men against us, and see what we can do."<sup>1</sup> Further, he could boast as many victories as battles, and only two checks,<sup>2</sup> very quickly and gloriously repaired.



Clementia.

Even on his enemies his charm operated, for he employed against them a weapon new to Rome, clemency, and it was so natural to him that we find it in his writings, where not a word is said hurtful to his enemies. The glory of the great man who fell under the dagger of Brutus does not consist only in military

<sup>1</sup> *De Bell. Afric.*, 45.

<sup>2</sup> Before Gergovia and at Dyrrachium.

<sup>3</sup> Statue in the Vatican. (*Braccio Nuovo*, No. 74.)



success and wise statesmanship, but also in kindness. Between two reigns of terror, one preceding him, the other following, he repudiated the savage customs of the Roman people of that time by being unwilling to confiscate or proscribe. Suetonius, who bears him neither hatred nor affection, concludes his portrait of Cæsar; "He was gentle and good, *lenissimus*."

He reigned five years, during which he made seven campaigns, and he did not live in Rome for more than fifteen months. But between battles his thoughts were of the reforms needed by the State; the mere enumeration of those he undertook would imply a long life of repose and meditation.

Devoted by his family traditions to the defence of popular interests, he looked higher still to the interests of the State, without hatred to the aristocracy or servility to the people. The struggle in which the oligarchy engaged him enlarged his horizon; he saw that the safety of the Republic demanded something more than the relief of the miseries of the plebeians of Rome, as the Gracchi had wished, or the punishment of the extortioners of the provinces, which Sylla had tried. He understood that it was necessary to convert a municipal constitution, such as that of Rome, into an impaired constitution, and to accomplish this, the right of citizenship must be largely bestowed, the senate transformed into a representative assembly of the whole Empire, and the governors placed under the power of a permanent chief, whose interest it should be to make justice prevail that peace might reign.

The Romans had an admirable State council in the old Republican senate, but they had only two great statesmen, Sylla and Cæsar, who both recognized that the popular assembly was incapable of managing the interests of 60,000,000 of men. The one, a workman of the past, constituted an aristocratic government, which, had it lasted, would have been in ancient times what Venice might have become in the Middle Ages if she had had neither the Council of Ten nor the Three Inquisitors of State, who kept in check the nobility of the Golden Book. The other, a workman of the future, overturned an oligarchy greedy of gain and of pleasure, who had neither the right to govern the Empire alone nor the intelligence to preserve their government.

The same words often designate very different things. The

Republic of the Romans had nothing in common with what we call by that name. By a republic, the moderns understand a society in which the citizen has the largest share of liberty and the government the least share of power. In Rome the citizen was the serf of the State, and the most forcible word in the Latin language, *imperium*, marked the extent of the executive power.<sup>1</sup> Even in the comitia the sovereign assembly only voted on the motion of the presiding magistrates, and even then these presidents could suppress the votes in the midst of the balloting. The idea of political liberty was so foreign to the mind of the Romans, that they never made an image of it;<sup>2</sup> amongst the innumerable statues they

<sup>1</sup> As to guarantees, the citizen had only two, the right of appeal and that of intercession, and the former could not be exercised beyond the first mile.

<sup>2</sup> At least I have sought in vain for it. It is true that Clodius, the man of all kinds of violence, made the statue of a courtesan into a goddess of Liberty, *ut esset indicium oppressi senatus ad memoriam sempiternam turpitudinis* (see Cic., *pro Domo*, 43, and above, p. 212), that Cæsar promised a temple to it, and that we see its image on the coins of Claudius, of Nero, and of Commodus, and its name in the inscriptions of Tiberius and Constantine. At the end of the first Punic war a temple had been erected on the Aventine, *Jovi Libertati*. When Gracchus freed the 8,000 slaves who had fought so well for Rome against Hannibal, he caused the scene to be painted in this temple. (Livy, xxiv. 16; xxxiv. 44.) In the *Atrium Libertatis* which was erected where afterwards stood the Basilica Ulpia(?); slaves were set free (Sid. Apoll., *Epig.*, 2); lots were drawn to see in which of the urban tribes freedmen were to vote (*ibid.*, xlv. 15); and there they "questioned" the slaves who gave evidence in the trial of Milo. (*pro Milone*, 22.) Finally this sanctuary of Liberty was used as a prison; the Tarentine hostages were confined there (Livy, xxv. 7). Asinius Pollio called his library by a well-merited name, *Atrium Libertatis*, the place where minds are set free by the wisdom of the ancients, and Augustus restored the temple of *Jupiter Libertas*, who had delivered the Republic from its misfortunes. After the defeat of the republicans at Munda, which inaugurated the monarchy, the senate vowed another temple to Liberty. Ultimately, however, this goddess really had a statue in Rome. At the death of Sejanus the senators decreed that there should be set up in the Forum 'Ελευθερίας ἀγάλμα. (Dion, lvi. 12.)

This enumeration shows that by the word *liberty* the Romans understood something quite different from what we mean by it. It was the act of setting free from an inferior social condition, from the caprice of a master, and the arbitrary power which an absolute prince could promise to renounce without abdicating; it was for the citizens the hope of living in peace under the law, whatever might be the authority which made it, and not the expression of a combination of institutions ensuring them political liberty and participation in government. *Quid est libertas?* writes Cicero (*Parad.*, v. 1.) *Potestas vivendi ut velis*, a rescript of Alexander Severus gives us the Roman sense of *Liberty*. "*Tantum mihi cura est eorum qui reguntur libertatis, quantum et bonæ voluntatis eorum et obedientiæ.*" Dig., xlix., 1, 25. Mamertinus (*Puneg.*, *Vet.* p. 698-9) says of Julian that he watches night and day over the liberty, that is, the security of the citizens. Amm. Marcell., xiv. 6, calls the imperial constitution *fundamenta libertatis*. As for the word *republic*, it signifies the State and not a condition of liberty and equality; accordingly it was made use of under the empire in the same way as the motto, S.P.Q.R. (*Senatus populusque Romanus*). I have given, in vol. i. p. 434, a head of Liberty on a coin of Lollius Palikanus. This coin commemorates a particular liberty, the right of speaking to the people accorded to the tribunes by the *lex Pompeia*. That on the coin

have left us, we should seek in vain for one representing it. They deified everything except that which would be our most popular divinity, had we still goddesses. The dispute between the senate and Cæsar had no bearing then, on this question; it was simply a question of deciding whether 60,000,000 of men should have one master or 300. Brutus killed Cæsar because he wished to continue one of these 300, and to save the oligarchy was what he called Virtue. This has long been taken for granted. An attentive study of the transformations of Roman society has diminished the authority of the legend without causing it to disappear,<sup>1</sup> so that Cæsar has his enemies even in the present day. In the eyes of impartial history, if he was the greatest among ambitious men, he was also the ablest instrument of a historic necessity. He originated that unity of command by which were consolidated the interests of the head of the State and those of the populations whom he delivered from the rapacious dealings of a hundred families. He created therefore, a monarchy of a character new to the ancients, which instead of being, like Oriental monarchies, an indolent royalty, enjoying amidst its pleasures the travail of its subjects, was in its principle and often in reality a royalty protecting the greatest number, thinking and acting for those who could neither think nor act for themselves. The basis of the imperial power at Rome was the tribunitian power, and in spite of the follies and crimes of the Caligulas, of the Neros, and of the Commodi, the emperors worthy of the name were the true tribunes of the people, preoccupied doubtless with their personal greatness, but also with the general interests of the empire, believing in merit more than in birth; effacing the harsh and injurious distinctions established by the Republic; mitigating

of Servilius Isauricus, which is engraved in vol. ii. p. 795, is a memento of the numerous captives set at liberty by the conqueror of the pirates.

<sup>1</sup> This legend still exists in France in many minds, but faith in it is very much shaken in Cæsarian Germany and free England. I beg that it may be noticed that I have not in any way changed, in the course of the present publication, the opinion I expressed in 1844 in the second volume of my first edition. I should have wished, like many others, that the great Republic which had for centuries shown unexampled wisdom might have endured. But was it possible? M. Fustel de Coulanges says, very truly; "The men of this period loved the empire because they found interest and profit in loving it." (*Histoire des Institutions de l'ancienne France*, vol. i. p. 92.) He adds; "In the history of the world we find few political systems which have lasted five centuries, like the Roman empire; we find few which have been as little questioned and attacked in principle; we find none which were so long and so universally applauded by the populations whom they governed." (*Op. cit.*, p. 93, 94.)

the law and making it each generation more humane, even for the slave; and going even as far as to conceive the great poor-law institution of Trajan; in a word, carrying out a good social policy without playing demagogues. Now, this character the imperial monarchy owes to Cæsar, and has bequeathed it to modern royalties, in which the prince considers himself not as a son of heaven, but as the first of the country's servants. Augustus, Vespasian, the Antonines, Severus, Aurelian, Probus, and even Tiberius, Claudius and Domitian were great or clever administrators, to whom millions of men owed, for more than two centuries, a prosperity such as before their time the world had never seen.

Philosophers had foreseen this government, peoples longed for it, and juriconsults framed its theory. Tacitus greeted its advent in the accession of Nerva;<sup>1</sup> he ought to have placed it earlier, and the Antonines realized it. It was an imperfect form of government, since it provided no safeguard against the incapacity or folly of the prince, but it was better than what it replaced, without being so valuable as an organization in which the king, though free to do good, would not be so to do evil. Unfortunately humanity is very poor in political ideas, and takes a very long time to pass from one to another; it required eighteen centuries to arrive at representative governments. A superior man can hasten the hour of great reforms; <sup>2</sup> Cæsar, who had so many sides to his genius, lacked this one, or had not time to display it. There remains to the founder of Cæsarism very splendid glory; had he lived he would have been a Trajan or a Hadrian, and greater than both.

<sup>1</sup> *Quamquam res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum et libertatem.* (Agric., 3.)

<sup>2</sup> We have seen (vol. ii. p. 194 *seq.*) that the elements of a representative organization existed everywhere, and we shall see (chap. lxxii.) that Augustus knew no better than Cæsar or the senate how to utilize them, whereas the Church, imitating those institutions which had remained useless for politics, made them the instrument of her unity and her power.

<sup>3</sup> LIB. AVG. P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestas) XVII COS VIII P(ater) P(atriæ). The reverse of an *aureus* of Commodus set in the patera of Rennes, one of the jewels of our *Cabinet des Antiques*.



Liberty.<sup>3</sup>









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